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Proceedings of the London Convention, continued from the third page of number eight, June 13th. (Second day.)

Mr. Boultbee, of Birmingham, supported the resolution, inasmuch as it was merely a recommendation to the committee to consider.

Mr. Young explained that his objection to the resolution was this. He did think, although all of them were agreed that slaveholding was a sin, and was therefore inconsistent with church membership, still the Convention was not a body that had a right to interfere with a church and its discipline.

After a desultory conversation between many members,

Mr. Blair strongly supported the resolution. He had long been anxious to see such a resolution adopted, for he conceived that the greatest strong hold of the slaveholder was the aid and sanction given to the practice by churches.

Dr. K. Greville supported the resolution, because he conceived that every Christian church ought to exercise church discipline in a case of such aggravated sin.

Mr. J. G. Birney, of New-York, said, he must deny that there could be any sinless holder of a slave according to the law of God. That was a rock upon which they must not split—they must not give the slaveholder any such loop hole, for they would most gladly avail themselves of it, no one found such easy excuses for his conduct as the slaveholder, whether he were a cruel one or a mild and gentle master. (Hear, hear.) He had made himself acquainted with the facts as they stood in New-York respecting slavery—he went to all churches, and in none but the Roman Catholic church did he find they had put down the negro pew. Even in the churches where ministers preached who called themselves Abolitionists he found it. (Hear, hear.) The resolution did not dictate, they only called upon the churches to carry out their own principles—they did not dictate new modes of action.

The Rev. Mr. Swan, of Birmingham, supported the resolution.

The Rev. Mr. Robertson, of Kettering, would like to see the committee appointed unfettered, when they would well consider the matter, and bring forward matured resolutions.

Rev. Mr. Harvey, of Glasgow, supported the resolution. Although as strict a Presbyterian as he ought to be, he saw nothing in them to offend any church—they were recommendations, not dictations.

Rev. Mr. James, of Bridgewater, supported the amendment. He thought strong and stringent resolutions might be framed to effect their object without at all meddling with church discipline.

Mr. D. Crewdson supported the resolution.

The Secretary said, as they were now about to come to a vote, he trusted it would be understood that it would decide the principle of the resolution, and when the committee brought up their report, there would be no discussion upon the principle of the resolution, but would be confined to the details.

The Rev. Mr. Binney did not understand what was meant by the principle. His own impression was, that if they declared a certain thing to be a great sin, and a violation of Christian duty, they could not avoid drawing the inference that those who were guilty of that sin might be subject to church discipline. (Hear.) Such a conclusion was as clear and logical as possible. But the difficulty of the point was not in the resolutions themselves of Mr. Stovel, but in the preamble to those resolutions. That preamble did not refer to the characteristics which distinguished the slavery of the present day from that species of slavery which existed at the time of the primitive church. Was there any gentleman present who would deny that slave-owners had been members of that primitive church? (Yes.) Could any one deny that under the eyes of the apostles men had held property in their fellow-men? He believed there were slaves and masters in the times of the apostles, and that those masters had not become subject to church discipline. He believed that the arguments of the apostles had principally for their object the gentle and gradual insinuation of the doctrines of Christianity. He had, however, no objection to such a resolution as that which had been proposed, if they were to have a preamble to it clearly and distinctly stating the characteristics which distinguished modern slavery from that which existed when the primitive church was formed. He thought that if, instead of this course, they denounced slavery, in general terms, as unchristian, they would create much perplexity in many minds.

A delegate said that there was no account in the Scriptures of such slavery as we had now.

The Rev. Mr. Binney.—Exactly. There were circumstances of peculiar atrocity in slavery as it existed now, and it assumed a totally different aspect from that which it bore at the time of the apostles. But if they used the word slavery generally, he thought they would involve themselves in great difficulties.

Mr. Wm. Dawes, of the Oberlin Institution, called on the meeting to act cautiously as regarded the question then before them, but not to temporize. They could not denounce the unchristian character of slavery too strongly, and they were bound to take every means in their power for its suppression.

The Rev. J. A. James began by expressing a hope that the Convention would not come to a decision on the question then before them without the fullest deliberation. They were then touching the mainspring of the whole subject.—(Hear, hear, hear.) Their object was the extinction of the slave-trade, and in order to effect that object they should put an end to slavery in America; and in order to put down slavery in America they should remove it from the Church of America—(hear, hear)—and in order to remove it from the Church of America it appeared to him that the strongest recommendations on the subject should go forth from the Convention. The church was the main prop of slavery in the United States. (Hear, hear.) The demon of slavery had found a haunt, a shelter, and a defence, not so much, he believed, under the Presidential or the Professorial Chair, as under the altar of the Lord and in the House of God. It was, therefore, their duty to do something which would tell on the church. (Hear, hear.) The question was a moral one, and they all knew that the church of God professed to be based on moral grounds, and that a moral influence perpetually proceeded from it either for evil or for good. It appeared to him therefore that they should do something which would act on the professors of religion, and he did not know any thing more likely to effect that end than a temperate but firm and uncompromising recommendation, such as that alluded to in the resolution then under the consideration of the meeting. He belonged himself to a denomination proverbially sensitive as to its rights as a church—a denomination which would allow no invasion of those rights, and which would set at defiance that Convention, or any other body which might attempt to dictate to its members the terms of communion; but they were prepared to listen to recommendations, and especially to recommendations emanating from such a body as that which he then addressed. He would still say that the suggestion of Mr. Binney deserved the grave and serious consideration of the committee when it came before them. The slaveholders sheltered themselves under the pretended sanction of the Scriptures, and would tell them that there were slaveholders in communion with the Primitive Church. He would meet them on that ground, by showing that modern slavery bore no analogy to that which prevailed then; and besides there was not the same light to reveal its enormity as now. He thought that it would be wise to take up that suggestion. Their object should be to produce an impression on the public mind, and to convince parties that slavery, as it existed at the present day, was a sin, and such a sin as ought to exclude its authors from communion with their fellow-men. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. G. Thompson was anxious to notice the fact to which the Rev. Mr. Binney had alluded—that there had been slaveholders among the Primitive Christians, and in the times of the apostles; and to allude to the statement of another gentleman, that specific directions had been given by St. Paul to slaves to obey the precepts of their masters.—He did not think that either of these observations should be permitted to escape notice in a meeting like that before him, lest any individual who had not given the same consideration to the subject as others among them had been obliged to do, should depart without that information which might enable him to come to a satisfactory conclusion on that very difficult and oft debated point. He granted that there had been slaveholders among the professors of Christianity in the time of the apostles; he admitted, also, with the Rev. Mr. James, that the characteristics of slavery at the time of the apostles differed in many important points from the characteristics of that slavery which they were now denouncing, but it appeared to him that there were other circumstances of equal or even greater importance to be taken into account. The first of these was, that if St. Paul had not denounced slavery specifically, and if he had not authoritatively enjoined on masters the liberation of their slaves, he was silent on that subject, as he had been silent on many others, respecting which there had never been any doubt from the time that Christianity had been first propagated in the world. St. Paul was not sent to be an Anti-Slavery lecturer; he had been appointed to preach a new religion, or at least, a religion which, in the fulness of time, had been developed for the regeneration of men. But he thought that they should bear in mind that the precepts of Christianity, including the precepts of St. Paul, gave lessons above all for the general conduct of mankind. St. Paul did not go about denouncing specific sins, and prescribing specific penalties for them, but he laid down great principles according to which we might safely act on any particular occasion. It was so with the teachers of other doctrines. Sir Isaac Newton, when he developed to the world his system of astronomy, did not at the same time refute in detail every other system which the ignorance, or the superstition, or the vanity of men had formed, but he laid down great principles drawn from an accurate observation of the laws of nature, by which he overturned every system which previous philosophers had established. He (Mr. Thompson) was still prepared to teach, with St. Paul, that slaves should not effect their liberation by violence, or by the application of physical force; and he did not know an Abolitionist with whom he was acquainted who would not be ready to tell slaves, in the language of the apostle, that being slaves, they should not care for it, for that they had a master in heaven who had smitten from their limbs the fetters of a baser bondage, but that if they could purchase their freedom they might do so. He thought that the lessons of St. Paul to slaves offered a striking illustration of the peaceful spirit of Christianity. But on the other hand, did the apostle give no instruction to masters! Mr. Thompson was proceeding when

The venerable Chairman left the meeting, apparently overcome by fatigue.

Mr. Sturge then took the chair, and

Mr. Thompson then continued. He had said that the apostle Paul had addressed precepts to slaves, providing for the safety of their masters and their property, but he had also addressed precepts to masters. And here he (Mr. Thompson) would take the opportunity of complaining of the modern practice of appealing to the Scriptures in America. He knew that there were hundreds of preachers in the South who were exceedingly fond of searching the writings of St. Paul whenever he might refer to the duties of slaves, but who seem to have completely forgotten the other precepts of the apostle. What did St. Paul say to masters? What was involved in the words, "The laborer is worthy of his hire?" What in the words, "Let no man go beyond and defraud his brother in any matter, for the Lord will be the avenger of all such?" What, again, in that grand Christian rule, that drunkards and other bad characters, including extortioners, should have no place in the Church? He contended, that if the teachers of Christianity acted on those principles, they would be bound to break the fetters of the slave, and he found an illustration of the manner in which those principles were understood by the primitive Christians, in the fact that, three centuries after the establishment of Christianity, slavery was unknown throughout the west of Europe. He had made those remarks in consequence of the statement of Mr. Binney, that slavery had existed in the early church. He would next pass to the matter more immediately under the consideration of the meeting, namely, the propriety of nominating a committee for the purpose of drawing up certain resolutions recommending Christian churches to make slave-holding a matter of church discipline. Such a recommendation would be no novelty to the church on the other side of the Atlantic.—They already exercised such a power on many subjects by no means so important in his (Mr. Thompson's) estimation as slave-holding. Many of them exercised church discipline in reference to persons who distilled or vended ardent spirits, and they excluded such parties from their communion.—(Hear.) Many of them would not allow gamblers a place in their church, nor would they allow it to those who dug up and sold the bodies of the dead; and yet they would receive among them those who ran away with and sold the living men. (Hear, hear.) Their respect for the inanimate corpse of the negro was greater than their respect for the animated and intelligent being who might stand before them. (Hear.) It would, he repeated, be no new thing to the churches of America to receive such a recommendation as that to which he had referred, for they had already received similar recommendations from assemblies far less august than that which he had then the honor to address. Some denominations had acted on those recommendations. The reformed Presbyterians, so early as the year 1801, had agreed to exclude from their body those who were guilty of slaveholding; and the Free-will Baptists had more recently adopted a resolution to the same effect. Since he (Mr. Thompson) had left America the cause of abolition had been winning its widening way there down to the present time, when they had met together from so many various parts; and now the eyes of the churches of America were on them. Slavery in the abstract had already been denounced by many of those churches, but they had still continued in this world of abstractions to permit the slavery of their fellow-men. Let them, then, quit the world of abstraction, and come to the world of every-day life. Let them cease to discuss principles which were admitted in the abstract by their adversaries in common with themselves. Let them descend from the sublime regions, in which their adversaries were ready to accompany them. Let them stigmatize as unchristian the act of slave-holding, bearing with them, like thunder-bolts from the clouds in which they had so long dwelt, those principles which might smite the enemies of the rights of man. (Cheers.) They would have to deal with a large body of Christians in America, who were misled by those to whom they looked up for counsel and example. There were multitudes of the common people there who were content to be slaveholders because Dr. A. or Mr. B. were slaveholders too, and because those gentlemen, after flogging their slaves well at home, went to church and preached equally well. (Laughter.) They had there representatives from all the great Christian denominations, and, if they followed the course which was then proposed, they would extort a respect for their opinions not only from the common people, but from those who moved in higer spheres. One word more about St. Paul. Suppose the apostle had gone into an American church, and found his own writings spread out on the desk from which Christianity was preached, would he, after his precepts had been so long reverenced, and after they had been raised to the highest place in the judgment and the veneration of men, have gone back to first principles, and contented himself with merely laying the foundation of true morality! No, he would "lay righteousness to the line, and judgment to the plummet," and he would overturn the whole fabric of slavery, from its summit to its lowest foundation. (Hear, hear.) The question before them was the most important, he considered, that could be brought under their consideration. (Hear, hear, hear.) They would, by adopting the resolution, pronounce slavery to be essentially sinful They should also call on every Christian to abandon it, and on every Christian denomination to exert its prerogatives over those who had neglected the weightier matters of the law, "judgment, justice, and mercy;" and if they did so, his own impression was that they would direct the attention of thousands on the other side of the Atlantic to the subject, and that they would convert the pulpits of America, now the most successful pedestals from which the demon of slavery exerted its influence, into fitting receptacles for those who were representatives of that great Master who came to preach deliverance to captives, and the opening of their prisons to them that were in chains. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. C. Birt said, that the slavery of the present day was unquestionably of a totally different character from that of former times; and the apostles had no doubt laid down principles which were calculated in their progress to overturn slavery of every kind. In the city of Bristol, the members of the communion to which he belonged had framed a formal resolution to the effect that they would not extend their fellowship to any Americans who might come among them, unless they were ready to profess, not only their abhorrence of slavery in the abstract, but also their determination of using all their influence for its extinction in America and throughout the rest of the world. He was certainly most anxious that the subject then under their consideration should go before a committee, and he would give his cordial support to the resolution.

It being then two o'clock—

Mr. Turnbull moved that the meeting should adjourn till tour, with an understanding that the subject should come under discussion again.

After a short conversation, the question of the adjournment of the meeting was put, and negatived by a large majority.

A discussion then arose as to whether the meeting should immediately proceed to divide on the main question.

The Chairman said, that he had certainly put the question of the adjournment with the impression that, if it were not carried, the meeting should immediately divide on the other question.

Several delegates wished to know if there would be a further opportunity of discussing the subject when the Report of the Committee was brought in.

The Chairman said, that he apprehended there would be an opportunity for such discussion.

Mr. G. Thompson was also of opinion that the principle would again come under their consideration.

Mr. Brookes said, that there could be no doubt, as he thought, that slaveholders were not entitled to be received into communion with their fellow-christians; but it was another question to decide whether such a declaration should come from that meeting.

The Rev. Mr. Stovel thought that all objections might be met by denouncing the system of modern slavery only, according to the suggestion of the Rev. Mr. Binney.

Captain Stuart said, that it should be observed that the primitive Christians were but subjects, while they were legislators. The primitive Christans submitted to slavery, while the Christians of the present day created it. He thought that was a distinction which should not be forgotten.

The Chairman then put the amendment on the main question, which had but four supporters; and the original motion, on being put, was carried with only four dissentients.

The resolution was then agreed to, and the meeting adjourned till four o'clock.

Sittings of Monday, June 15.

The proceedings commenced under the presidency of the Rev. R. K. Greville, LL.D., of Glasgow.

Minutes of the last meeting having been read,

Mr. G. Thompson, and others, suggested that the portion of them which referred to the motions upon Dr. Channing's letter, should be omitted, and that it should only appear that such letter had been received and read. This was unanimously adopted. Minutes then confirmed.

Mr. T. Fowell Buxton called in to give a friendly visit; and it was stated that he would return as soon as he had fulfilled a previous engagement. (Hear, hear.)

Sir E. Wilmot also appeared, and was well received.

Mr. Foster addressed a few observations to the Convention as to the order of their proceedings.

The secretary then stated the programme of the business to be first the subject of committees, and then American slavery.

Mr. Boultbee said he was anxious to adopt the advice of their zealous friend, Mr. O'Connell, to follow practical measures. He felt the great importance of diffusing full and correct information as to the immense benefits which would result, even to the planter, from the abolition of slavery.—With that view, he moved the appointment of a committee to collect and arrange facts, showing the advantage of free over slave labor, and to devise the most effectual means of procuring the adoption of the former.

Mr. W. Kay seconded the motion, which was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. S. Bowley moved the appointment of a committee to obtain and arrange evidence on the results of emancipation in our colonies, and the best means of procuring universal freedom to those colonies.

This was also carried.

J. G. Birney, Esq., of New-York, was then called upon to introduce the subject of American slavery. He had been one of the committee appointed to digest and prepare the question, but they had not had time to produce it in the most compact form. They would, however, detail the principal points on which they wished the action of the Convention, and the whole might be a pretty fair view of American slavery. He would state, as succinctly as possible, the different relations of the American Central and State Governments, the various orbits, so to speak, of which were often confounded. (Hear, hear.) The thirteen colonies, before the Charter of Independence, acted under incorporations; they then procured each several forms of State Government. In 1788, the second year after the struggle for independence, there were articles of confederation, the experiment of which satisfied the people that it was not sufficient for all government purposes, and, with the advice of General Washington, a more compact union was adopted, for States could each make war or peace, coin money, &c., without reference to the whole. The attempt was made to form the Constitution of what was now called the United States. To this end there was a Convention in 1789, composed of delegates selected by the people at large. They were to confer such powers as they thought proper on the General Government, the remaining powers being reserved for the local governments. Thus, so far from the Constitution of the United States being the original, it was merely secondary, and could only carry out powers which had been conferred upon it. For instance, as to the collecting revenue, the power was conferred, the means, though not defined, following, as far as necessary. Now, complaints had occurred of the central government not sufficiently repressing abuses, as of slavery; but the reason was, that the requisite power had not been conferred upon it. From 1787 there was a general opinion that slavery should not be of long duration; hence slavery was not mentioned in the Constitution. ("Hear, hear," from Mr. O'Connell,) He would not dwell minutely on the present state of public feeling, or the conduct of Congress for past years on the subject, but on the reason why the influence of slavery had so far guided and governed powers intended for the preservation of liberty. Prior to seventeen hundred and eighty-seven the cotton manufacture had not advanced to any great extent, so that the demand for slave labor had not been large. Massachusetts alone had adopted a glorious principle of freedom, which eventually triumphed over slavery. In the other States, no obstacles had been then interposed to what was unwisely hoped would have been the gradual extinction of slavery. Hence the mutility of yielding to expediency in opposition to principle. (Hear, hear.) Such minds as Franklin had been deceived by the delusion, and were not prepared for the event which upset all their expectations, namely, the invention in 1793 of the cotton gin, which greatly increased the productive powers of labor—the labor of one thousand hands being performed by one. This opened a door to a prodigious demand for what otherwise would have been a slight article of trade. From that moment might be traced the influence of slavery on the public mind and the General Government. (Hear.) This did not of course allow of any excuse to the government for not acting when they could, particularly for not preventing the re-delivery of slaves escaped to free States. Congress had also the right, (though not undisputed by slaveholders,) of abolishing slavery in Columbia, where there were six or seven thousand slaves. So, also, in the territories, as they were called, in opposition to the states—as in the territory of Florida. No excuse could be offered for the neglect of Congress on these subjects. Now for the immediate object to be presented to the Convention. The slaveholding interest in America was to be distinguished from the great mass of public opinion which was opposed to them—(hear, hear.) and this interest was greatly alarmed at the agitation upon the subject, but trusted to the influence of self-interest on the government of America to maintain the system. To this end the slaveholders were always endeavoring, by every means, to commit the government to the maintenance of that system. In the prosecution of this design, they had tried to commit the government to a claim for compensation against the British government, on account of slaves liberated through their having been thrown, by stress of weather, on the coasts of British settlements. Negotiations had, accordingly, been carried on between the two governments on this subject, which had terminated thus: In cases before the Emancipation Act, the British government agreed to give proper compensation. In another case, which occurred since that act, the British government refused, declaring that they would not recognize any property in human kind (Loud cheers.) In this state of the case, Mr. Calhoun moved, in the American Senate, the following resolution: "That ships on the high seas, in time of peace, engaged in lawful traffic, are, according to the laws of nations, under the exclusive jurisdiction of the State to which they belong, as much so as if constituting a part of its own dominion; and that if such ships be cast by stress of weather, or other unavoidable cause, into the port of any friendly power, they are under the same laws, and the persons and property on board are under the protection of those laws; and further, that the brig Enterprise, (the slave ship in question, the last of those negotiated about,) having been forced into a port of the Bermudas, while on a lawful voyage from an American port, is embraced within the principle laid down in these resolutions, and that the detention of the negroes on board that vessel, and their subsequent liberation, were in violation of the laws of nations, and unjust to American citizens." These resolutions were substantially agreed to, March 13, 1840, with no dissenting voice. (Hear, hear.) The object of these resolutions was not so much the expectation (which could hardly be entertained,) that foreign states would bring the rights (so called) of slaveholders into the laws of nations, as to commit the American government to the support of slaveholders' claims. Now it was a most important thing that this Convention should admonish England and the world of the real design and effect of the doctrines set forth in these resolutions; (Hear, hear, hear.) and to expose the flagitious principles involved in them. (Cheers.) With this view he should move a preamble and certain resolutions, to express the sense of the Convention upon the subject. He would here state that the Congress did really possess the power of preventing the carrying on of the infamous slave trade; for though the power to abolish internal and domestic slavery had not been reserved to the Congress, there had been expressly reserved to them the power of regulating commerce, not only with foreign states, but with other states of the Union. And the best jurists of America held that this enabled them to put down the traffic in slavery by their own citizens. Now, in respect to the means of influencing the public mind to the suppression of slavery in America, he wished to observe, that the main difficulty was in bringing before the public mind the real state of the question; and the diffusion, by the press, of information, and appeals upon it, was one of the most powerful influences that could be brought to bear on behalf of the abolition cause. (Hear, hear.) The legislative body of the Union was completely under the mercy and dominion of the slaveholders, who, by a refinement of criminal ingenuity, were actually entitled to the elective franchise in proportion to the slaves they possessed; that is, five slaves gave a vote. (Loud expressions of surprise and indignation.) Thus in the Senate there was a slave party of twenty-four, that could turn any of the great State questions of policy. (Hear, hear, hear.) A very important element in the consideration of this subject was the proposed anexation of Texas; (Hear, hear,) an attempted act of violence and wrong, which, if it had been successful, would have rendered the abolition cause less hopeful than ever. Blessed be Providence, however, that the project had not succeeded; and this was one among the many proofs of the greatly beneficial results which followed from the exertion of the influence of other nations on the side of justice and humanity, and sound policy. Let it be the effort of this country, then, who would be followed by France in the noble example—(Cheers.) and then by other European states, to exert all possible influence on the American people to induce the abolition of the slave system. That system was only to be reached by the influence of external appliances; for the result of a long experience in American abolition exertions enabled him, sorrowfully yet confidently, to state, that unaided by such external influences, the exertions of the American abolitionists would be hopeless.—(Hear, hear.) How then was this external influence to be exerted on our part? Let us exhibit to America the glorious spectacle of our emancipated negroes in the British colonies—especially the West Indies—supplied with all the advantages of education, and right moral training, and religious instruction—peaceful, prosperous, and happy communities; and when the noble example should have been imitated by other European states, the principles of freedom carried out with worthy emulation in all their colonies, and the beneficial results indisputably demonstrated. then indeed would the system of slavery even in America begin to tremble under the mighty force of public feeling, and the crisis would not be far distant when it would for ever fall. (Loud cheers.) This was the crisis so ardently desired by the Abolitionists, and to bring it about it was necessary to influence the mind of England here, which would produce action on the part of its government. That could not fail to tell powerfully on the mind of France, and she would influence Spain: and so the mighty and the noble spirit of freedom would travel through the globe. (Loud cheers.) In this view he begged to propose to the Convention the consideration of the following resolutions:—

"Whereas, since the termination of the negotiations of the American with the British government, under which the British government refused to grant indemnity for certain slaves who, on their passage from certain ports in the United States to other ports within the same, were providentially cast on the Bahama and Bermuda Islands, and, therefore, made free by the operation of British law, the slaveholding interest in the United States is attempting, in the Congress of the United States, to stir up the American government to resist the principle on which such indemnity was refused. And whereas, in the prosecution of this attempt, a resolution was recently received in the House of Representatives of the United States, urging that government to insist on an arrangement with the British government, by which slaves escaping from their masters in the United States into the British dependencies on the American continent, should either be delivered up to their masters, or a full indemnity paid for them. And whereas, in the further prosecution of the said unjust object, the Senate of the United States, by a resolution passed in April last, declared in effect, that if an American ship or vessel carrying on the slave-trade from one of the ports of the United States to any other port within the same should be forced, by stress of weather or any other unavoidable cause, into the port and under the jurisdiction of a friendly power, she and her cargo, and the persons on board, with their property, and the rights belonging to their personal relations, as established by the laws of the State to which they belong, would be placed under the protection which the laws of nations extend to the unfortunate under such circumstances. Wherefore,

Resolved, As the sense of this Convention, that the proposition embodied in said resolution, viz: to sustain by the sanction of public law, which is founded on the principles of natural justice and right, the pretensions of the slave system, which exists only by disregarding justice and annihilating right, is not only unchristian and absurd, but disrespectful to the common sense of mankind.

Resolved, That this, the first attempt known in the history of nations, to convert the pretensions of slaveholders into rights, and, as such, to engraft them on the system of public law, by which the intercourse of nations is regulated, ought never to have emanated from the senate of a people who, from a period of time coeval with their independent national existence, have asserted before the world, and in the most solemn manner, that all men are created equal, are entitled to their liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness.

Resolved, That to allow such a proposition as the one referred to, would be not less inconsistent with the honor and dignity of Great Britain, and of such of the other nations of the world as have either abolished slavery within their respective limits, or are, in good faith, proceeding so to do, than it is hostile to the avowed principles of that people among whom it has originated, and to the cause of humanity, with which, under God, all governments are solemnly charged.

Sir E. Wilmot and Mr. O'Connell rose together—the latter honorable and learned gentleman courteously gave way to the honorable baronet, who was cordially received. He said, that if any thing could have induced him to interpose before the learned gentleman, who doubtless would soon address the Convention, it was the satisfaction he felt at seconding an American. (Cheers.) From the time (said the hon. baronet) when I opposed the apprenticeship system (cheers) to the time when I placed the government in a minority of three on the Jamaica Bill, (cheers) and the yet more recent time when I resisted them on the Hill Coolies question, (hear, hear,) I have been hearty in your cause, and shall deem it my greatest honor to be a participator in your holy struggle.

Mr. O'Connell then rose, and was greeted with the loudest and most general cheering. He said, after repeated mute acknowledgments of his reception, I have two excuses for my intrusion upon you—first, I was alluded to by the hon. baronet, a more sincere friend of the cause does not breathe than himself, (cheers) and next, as he said he was happy as an Englishman, to second an American, I am anxious to intrude an Irishman upon you. (Laughter and cheers.) But I have another more important reason. The subject mooted by the hon. Judge, [for he is a judge,] who has just addressed you, is one of international and constitutional law; and perhaps, as I am a lawyer, you will allow my experience in the subject to compensate for my want of ability. (Laughter and cheers.) The proposition of the American Senate is inadmissible. It is an outrage on common sense—it is a violation of public honesty. (Cheers.) They claim—a property in man! Why, that is inconsistent with, not only all constitutional law—and their own constitution above all—but with the eternal principles of justice. (Cheers.) How would they like that the blacks should do unto them as they delight to do unto the blacks? (Hear, hear.) I have not the heart to wish any man a slave; but really I am tempted almost to do it for once, and wish Calhoun a slave. (Laughter.) It would not, perhaps, be an inappropriate retribution for his infamous disposition to act with injustice, iniquity, and inhumanity, to subject him to the lash, which he would inflict on others. On how indignantly and pathetically he would plead on behalf of his outraged nature! (Laughter and cheers.) Why, some of you may recollect the case of the American Adams, who, having been lost in Africa, the dark, swarthy natives said he was only fit to be a slave; he was evidently inferior to their race—the whites were good for nothing but slavery—(Roars of laughter,) to which he was consigned four years. So you see how the rule would work if equally applied.—(Hear, hear.) The proposition of Calhoun is untenable, even as an American proposition. (Hear, hear.) The resolutions of our friend, the worthy Judge, set forth its inconsistency with the first clause of the American Charter of Independence, which declares all men born equal; but there is a stronger word,—it declares that all men have the same inalienable right to equal laws; yes, inalienable is the word. (Cheers.) That is the sacred basis of American independence,—it is not confined to caste, color, sect, or creed. (Hear, hear.) And from this spot I wish to rouse all the high and lofty mind of America. Republicanism necessarily gives a higher and a prouder station to the human mind than any other form of government. (Hear,) I am not comparing them as any thing else at present, but history shows there is a pride of manliness about republicans, which, perhaps, is a consolation to them for many other things in which they may possibly be inferior. (Hear, hear.) But from this spot, I repeat, I wish to rouse all the honesty and pride of American manhood, and would that the voice of Europe would said me in the appeal, and swell my feeble voice to one grand shout of indignation; and when these Americans point to their boasted Charter of Independence, exclaim, "*Look at your practice!*" But can there be held faith in man when we find that to their vaunted principle of equality, they solomnly pledge their lives, fortunes, and "sacred honor!" (Hear, hear.) Here is all the solemnity, without the profanity of an oath, in sanction of a principle thus directly, dreadfully—thus diabolically violated. (Hear, hear.) America must know that all Europe is looking to her. (Hear and cheers.) She must know that the world consider that her Senate, her Calhouns, are, while attempting to assert their infamous claim of property in human kind, incufring that blackest of all stains, because carrying with it the imputation of personal dishonor—shall I say perjury—in the practical violation of a principle they have so solemnly sanctioned. (Cheers.) France and England, without any violation of principle, might adopt such a resolution; but, in the case of America, it doubly dyed her in disgrace. He felt proud to say that they might pass and adopt as many such resolutions as they pleased; they would be all idle, all useless, because the British government had no power to acquiesce in any one of them.—(Cheers.) The British government had no funds out of which they could grant compensation. No party in the state would ever propose a grant for such a purpose—the resolution was therefore idle. England had nobly paid twenty millions, for the purpose of redeeming their black brethren; and now, wherever England's flag floated upon the breeze, there was glorious freedom. (Hear, hear.) The moment the foot of a bondman touched the shore of England, or any of her dependencies, his slavery vanished.—(Loud cheering.) There is now no such thing known to the British law as that one man might have a property in his fellow-man—there was an act of Parliament against such a crime. It had been often laid down that an act of Parliament which was notoriously against justice and humanity, was void—he was afraid, however, that in practice that maxim was not cared for. (A laugh.) But no man, not one of any party whatever, would dare to come down to the House of Commons and propose a grant for the purpose of making compensation; if one could be found, of any party whatever, he would be shouted down and scouted from society. It was impossible it could be done, because it was totally inconsistent with our law. All the states of Europe had now admitted the great evils of slavery; it had been admitted in France, and the cause of abolition was deeply indebted to a gentleman whom he had the pleasure of seeing present, (M. D'Isambert, of the Chamber of Deputies of France). The French were a glorious nation, they were very fond of glory, they were inferior to none.—He wished to see no rivalry between them and us, except a rivalry to do good; it was a glorious rivalry, and although we might now good-humoredly taunt them and say, "You have not gone so far in the glorious work as we," he trusted the day was not far distant when our French neighbors might return the taunt, and say, "We have gone before you now, and done better!" (Cheers.) Well, then, the government had not the power to pay the compensation, unless indeed they agreed to do so out of their own pockets, by a club of their salaries,—a thing that was not very likely.—(Laughter.)

How, then, was it to be paid? There was one way in which it could be done—that was, by a vote of the House of Commons; and God help the minister who made the proposition. (Cheers and laughter.) The Senate of America showed an excessive desire to put forward a wicked claim for a horrible injustice, but it was one which it was lucky could not be carried into effect. No man detested war more than he did—for even war that was justified, and in its best form, was accompanied by thousands of murders and robberies. He hoped such a calamity would be spared them; but if any thing short of the honor of the nation could justify recourse to such an expedient, it was the resolution read to the Convention by the honorable and learned Judge. He was truly rejoiced to hear from that able and excellent gentleman that the present agitation was striking terror into the hearts of the slavemongers, and was calculated to do much good. They were a detestable race of aristocrats, who wanted to have property and ease also—who would not labor themselves, nor pay others for doing so; therefore they seized upon their fellow-men, and dared to call them their slaves. Even in Columbia, at the foot of the temple of freedom itself, the wretched negro was writhing under the lash of a brutal taskmaster, the negress was doomed to all the horrors of slavery, and the poor infant hanging at its mother's breast, good God! it also was a slave; that mother looked upon its smiling face in agony, and was almost tempted to send it to a premature grave, because it was not a man, but a slave. Yet this happened in America. He said it with all respect for his American friends present, but he felt bound to say it, that upon the American escutcheon there was written in characters of blood, "We are patronizers of slavery, the necessary result of which is, that we are perpetrators of robbery and murder." They might say, they had not the power to emancipate the slaves; but he would refer them to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of 1787, and he would defy them to point out one single mention of slavery in either of the documents.—(Cheers.) No man could deny the personal courage of the American people—there was not a braver or better nation upon the face of the earth; but there was not one man in the Convention of 1787 who had the moral, he had almost said the immoral, courage to mention the word slavery.—(Loud cheers.) Was slavery then to exist as a thing when they did not dare to pronounce its name! (Cheers.) Undoubtedly they met with the phrase of "persons held to labor" in these documents; but dare any one say, that under these words slavery was meant? Any man entering into any contract for work, or any one who gave his labor for an equivalent, was "held to labor," but did that make him a slave! but no; that was as near as they dared to approach slavery. There was nothing in the Constitution but what was fair and just. Had they meant to ackowledge and sanction the existence of slavery, they would have done so boldly; they dared not, and as there was no mention of it made in the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution of 1787, they must hold that it was not acknowledged by the Constitution. (Cheers.) Slavery was a deep crime which multiplied robbery and murder, but the Americans added hypocrisy to their other accomplishments. He flung it upon America that she stood in this predicament. They say they have no power to emancipate the slaves. He would whisper in their ears—Columbia. (Cheers.) Columbia was not bound by any Constitution—there they had the power if they pleased to use it. Then, why come down upon him with such hypocrisy! They said they were the first gentlemen and the most enlightened legislature in the world. (Laughter.) He would whisper to Columbia then, "You have the power to remove this foul blot—you have the authority—you have every thing, in fact, but the will—that alone is wanting." He would now turn to a subject of congratulation—he alluded to these noble-hearted men and women in America, who through difficulties and dangers were hearty in the cause of abolition. (Loud cheers.) He held them all as friends. He implored them to think him as one of their body. (Cheers.) He wanted no higher station in the world, but he did covet the honor of becoming a brother among the American Abolitionists Here the Abolitionists were in safety, and more honored for their exertions by the good; here they were encouraged and cheered by the smiles of the fair; they were bound together by godlike truth. But far different was it with their friends in America; there they were vilified and insulted. Very lately, did not a body of so-called gentlemen—men who would call any one out to try rifle-shooting who denied them that cog nomen—break in upon the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, and assault them in the most cowardly manner? And where did this happen? Why, in Boston, enlightened Boston, the capitol of a non-slaveholding state. The Abolitionists here had nothing to complain of. In America they are met with the bowie knife and lynch law. There had even been martyrs in the sacred cause, and their blood cried out not for vengeance, but that the friends of the cause in which it was shed should not relax in their endeavors. No human being could be placed in a more glorious position than those Americans who are friends to the negro. He was delighted to be one of a Convention in which so many of those brave and good men were—he trusted that their reception would be such, that their zeal would be strengthened; it was a noble struggle they were engaged in, and they would yet raise a shout of liberty that would make their enemies tremble.—Those brave and glorious men ought to have their names immortalized. (Cheers.) The habits of this country had forbid them from receiving some female delegates, because of the ridicule which ignorant people would have thrown upon their proceedings, but although they had not received them as delegates, were they the less esteemed or the less respected on that account, or, at his age, he might be allowed to say less loved? They all remembered Angelina Grimke, and her zeal in the cause of abolition, for which they owed a deep debt of gratitude. The societies in America were deeply persecuted, and were therefore deserving of every encouragement they could bestow upon them. Had he the ability he would tell them how deeply he loved and honored America and the Americans; he loved their institutions, but he denounced the anathema of civilized Europe upon them as slaveholders; they ought not to be received in society. Even the American Minister at our Court was a slaveholder; whether he bred them for sale was still a disputed point, which he would not then enter into. The government of this country should refuse to have any dealings with him, and tell America that they would not receive any slaveholder or recognize him. He would tell them an anecdote. Last year a well dressed gentleman-like person addressed him in the lobby of the House of Commons, and said he was from America. He begged him (Mr. O'Connell) to afford him the means of hearing the debate. He said, with pleasure; but first let him ask him a question—From what State was he? "Alabama." Was he a slave-owner? "Yes." Then he (Mr. O'Connell) bowed and left him. (Laughter.) Now, that was an example that ought to be followed. Hold no intercourse with a slaveholder. They might deal in business with him, but even then they must be cautious—(a laugh)—but they ought to be very scant of courtesy towards him until he had cleared himself of the foul spot. He wanted a declaration of that kind from the Convention; they ought to proclaim to the slaveholders that as long as they were engaged in the disgusting traffic, they held them to be of a different race.—Such a declaration from such a body would make the slaveholders tremble. He knew the bravery of the American nation, but still he wanted to frighten them by the powerful force of public sentiment. (Cheers.) In order to do so, they ought to lay hold of all that would assist them. The learned and honorable Judge who had addressed them had himself set a splendid example to all the slaveholding world. (Cheers.) He had called their attention to Texas. It was only a few days ago that he was favored with a Texian newspaper, and, blessed be heaven, it most cordially abused him. He was as well abused in it as he had ever been in any one in this country. He read with delight in it that that monster, O'Connell, had been the means of preventing the English Government from acknowledging the Texas.—(Laughter.) He, on reading it, took off his hat, and made a low bow, saying, "You do me too much honor, Mr. Texian." He would most cheerfully submit to any such attacks in such a cause. No party in England would dare to acknowledge such a nest of plundering brutes. (Cheers and

cumbent on that gentleman to prove that he came within the exception, instead of the general rule. [Hear, hear.]

Mr. O'Connell.—He denied any knowledge of such practices in America.

Mr. Stanton.—Then I say he is too ignorant to represent the American people here.—(Loud cheers)—or too dishonest: for there lies on this table a document from the press of his native State, which says that in 1805 twenty millions of dollars worth of slaves were sold from Virginia to the other States. (Hear, hear.) Virginia not a slave-breeding State! In what else is her prosperity but in human flesh! (Hear, hear.) Now what would be the effect of the extermination of the internal slave trade! The answer was—It was made profitable there in the cultivation of cotton, sugar, and molasses, by urging men to labour beyond what human nature could bear. The slaves in the cotton fields were worked into their graves in seven years—a system which, if carried on, would depopulate the world in a century. How was this vacuum supplied? By slaves from Virginia and other breeding States (Hear, hear.) He would mention a fact, by way of illustrating this, which had been told him by a Baptist minister who attended the Convention from Virginia. He said that he had asked a Baptist slaveholder, a member of his congregation, in Virginia, whether he was not apprehensive lest the slaves should rise in insurrection against their masters? and the answer was, that there were sometimes apprehensions of it, but that God in his Providence, had opened for them a safety valve in the extreme Southern States, which purchased their slaves, and worked them to death in seven years. (Great sensation.) Therefore he (Mr. Stanton) asserted that if Congress took up the sword of constitutional power and cut this jugular vein, slavery would turn pale and gasp at the southern end, and die of apoplexy at the northern end. (Hear and laughter.) There was another way in which this might be accomplished, namely, by the non-admission of what were called free States to the Union. At the period of the passing of that splendid declaration, That all men were created equal and entitled to equal rights, there were thirteen States of the Union, of whom six were free States, or just on the point of being free, and seven were slave States.—Since the American confederacy was formed, thirteen other States had been admitted to the Union, eight of which were slave, and five free States. But this admission was voluntary on their part, and thus they had swelled the numbers in Congress both of senators and representatives. Yes, like him of old, they had sold their birthright, but they had not, like him, obtained for it a mess of pottage, for they now ruled them with a rod of iron. These slave States now controlled the nation. But there was hope for freedom even yet. In the north-western section of the republic there was a most splendid country now rapidly filling up with the free population of the United States. This formed what was called the north-west territory, the land of which was of the most fertile kind, which steam-boats traversed for upwards of three thousand miles, and which was fertile in towns and cities. (Hear.) The population of the United States flowed over, not into the slave states, but into this district; and now there were two states—Wisconsin and Iowa—ready for admission to the Union. If these States were admitted to the Union, they might by-and-bye give the anti-slavery party the preponderance, for the south had nothing wherewith to counteract them but swamps and Indians. Here then was the reason why Texas wished for admission to the Union. These far north-west States were rapidly making New Englanders, and the southern States would not be able to withstand them, unless Texas were admitted to the Union. Was it asked, Is this the situation of America? Even so. The general government had no power to abolish slavery, but in the indirect manner of which he had spoken. They had the power to alter the constitution, but it would require the assent of two-thirds of the whole States to accomplish this. Hence the necessity for reliance upon moral power: and when he spoke of moral power he meant also political action—(Hear, hear)—and hence the resolution he had the honour to submit. They relied on external application; the civilized world must erect a wall of exterminating fire around American slavery that would melt the hard heart of the slaveholder. (Hear, hear.) The abolitionists were feeble in body, but strong in power. (Cheers.) As yet their numbers were contemptible, though, thank God, they were growing in strength.—Therefore they fell back for assistance on the civilized world. One great power they desired to bring to bear for this purpose was the literature of the world. He thought he was paying a compliment to this nation when he said they were a reading people. He had travelled from Torquay to London, and had hardly seen a newspaper; but every body read with them—every body in America was a politician—every body had a title to nobility—every body was heir apparent to the throne—(Laughter)—hence they were politicians from necessity. Every mechanic had his summary, and every gentleman his broad sheet; the former was to be seen in every workshop, and the latter in all the saloons of their aristocracy, for such they had. The Americans were a reading and a discussing people, but he took pleasure in saying the fountainhead of their literature was Great Britain. (Loud cheers.) It was from the land of Shakspeare and of Milton, of Bolingbroke and Pope, of Hume, and Robertson, and Mackintosh, they gathered all the gems which sparkled in their literary diadem. He came then to England, and said, Give us an Anti-Slavery literature.—Hear, hear.) He would state some facts on this subject, which might be thought amusing. He had already alluded to the effect of British literature upon America, and such was the case with its theology. Their theology was that of Hall and Baxter, of Warburton and Paley, of Tillotson and Taylor. "We got it here," said Mr. Stanton, "take heed that it be pure." Their law was derived from that of Coke and Blackstone, and others, down to Mansfield, who made judicially the glorious decision,—that the moment a slave set his foot upon British ground, that moment he was free. Their histories were those of England, from Hume to Mackintosh. He would take the branch of history. They had all heard of Tytler. He would show they got up an expurgated edition of his histories,—suited to the prejudices of America. It was found necessary, on account of some unpleasant reminiscences of the slaveholders, to taboo or expurgate it. The latter was therefore done, and it now sold well.—(Hear, hear.)—Again, the Rev. J. H. Hinton published a History of America, an edition of which was published in America by a firm, which, the moment a work arrived, put it into the compositors' hands, and sent the sheets immediately flying over the whole United States. Over came this history of Mr. Hinton, which was circulated in this manner, but it was not long before these gentlemen found letters on their counters, from their customers in the southern States, informing them they must expect less of their custom if they sent to them such works as that; and this was, because this work related the fact, that two millions and a half of men were held in bondage in America. (Hear, hear.) Then, again, the politics and eloquence of America were derived from England. It was on those great principles which, previous to the Revolution, had struck so deep, and thrown up their trenches so high; which were found to be in the works of Burke and the other distinguished men who then thundered in the Senate, and which had made the hearts of the Americans burn within them, on which the eloquence of America was founded. Why, from the days of Chatham to O'Connell—(cheers)—the eloquence of the British Senate had found attentive listeners in America. The eloquent denunciation of the scalping-knife, by Chatham had not only been thundered in the British Senate, but in every city in America. It was recited in every school; and when a lad at school, he had oftimes repeated it. And even now, in Boston, the denunciations of American slavery, by O'Connell, were repeated amid enthusiastic plaudits. Therefore British eloquence was the eloquence of America. But not only was this exclusion and expurgation confined to the higher literature; a little work was published here, entitled "Woods and Fields," which was tabooed in America because it contained the truth, that man was not born to be a slave. They all, no doubt, read Pollock; if they had not, they should have done so. This work came, also, to America; but the publishers found that it contained certain sentiments in favor of freedom, and, therefore, would never do to sell it in the southern market. The new play of "Love" was performed at New York, and in other theatres of the States; but because in that play Sheridan Knowles denounced slavery, it was expurgated; for they could not even bear the mimic freedom exhibited in the theatre. (Cheers.) Dr. Bowring's "Minor Morals" shared the same fate—the chapter on slavery being omitted. There was, also, another portion of her literature by which England might reach the American mind, namely, by reviews. Ten or fifteen thousand copies of reviews published in this country were circulated in the United States. An American house had ten or twelve thousand subscribers for those reviews, who subscribed on condition that they should be reprinted entire. An article in one of them, by Miss Martineau, excited so great a sensation there, that the publishers were obliged to apologise for its insertion. In the southern States a man must run the gauntlet if suspected of entertaining anti-slavery principles. If such a one attempted to go into the birth-places of Rush, Jay, Franklin, and Washington, he must almost take his winding-sheet with him; but these men would read their publications; they might feel disturbed by it, and put it down; but the next day they would feel perhaps some shame at being thus disconcerted by a book, and take it up again, and thus these principles might strike into their hearts, and take root downwards, and branch upwards. (cheers.) He asked them, on behalf of the American abolitionists, that England would saturate her literature with abolition principles—(Hear, hear—that her periodicals should join with them. There were novel readers in America as well as here, and they asked Edward Lyttleton Bulwer to introduce these principles into his works, they asked Dickens, who was read and honoured throughout America for his deep insight into human nature, to do so also; and they asked the newspaper press, which, though of less importance, was also read in America, to assist in the great work, and if this were done, as slavery was abolished in the Indies, so would the American slavery fall.—They had heard of resistance to moral power. The American people were a brave people, they had this moral power, but they would be unable to resist the influence of the literature of this country. This was his last hope. He spoke as one who had stood up against slavery and strife and opposition, with those who had bared their breasts to the Bowie-knife in defence of their principles. (cheers.) They fell back for assistance on British sentiment—on O'Connell, on Buxton, and on Clarkson, to reach forth their hands in their support, and cheer them on. To be a British Abolitionist and an American one were very different things—(Hear, hear)—and if he might be permitted to say so, but few of their British Abolitionists had stood fire on the other side of the Atlantic. (Hear, hear.) He did not speak invidiously, for he saw one (Mr. G. Thompson) present, who had literally stood fire. (cheers.) But there were some of whom he felt constrained to say, "Save me from my friends." Send us, concluded Mr. Stanton, good men and true; and, I add, Send us, I will not say a purified, but a vivified literature, instinct with the principles of freedom. Let it come in your literature, your periodicals, and your newspapers, and speak for freedom—and thus reach the ears of men whom the voice of the Abolitionist cannot reach, until they shall feel a pleasure in the knowledge of the truth of our principles, and unite with us in their dissemination, until slavery shall cease. (Loud cheers.)

W. Allen, Esq., said, that understanding there was to be a public meeting after the sitting of the Convention,—he wished to remark, that he knew, from the principles which had ever been entertained by the Duke of Sussex, his Royal Highness would feel great pleasure in being their Chairman on that occasion—(cheers)—and he would propose that he should be invited to be so.

The Chairman having put this proposition to the meeting it was carried with loud acclamations.

Mr. Wendell Phillips, upon being called upon by the Chairman, rose to second the resolution which had been proposed previous to the adjournment by Mr. Stanton. He had but a fact or two to add to the statements which had been made by Mr. Stanton, and, as he had gone through the ground so thoroughly, it was not necessary to detain the Convention any length of time. What he wished to call the attention of those present more particularly to was, the fact of the southern portion of the Union being shut against all the efforts of the anti-slavery press, and the north itself had also laid an embargo upon all anti-slavery proceedings. If any thing issued from the Anti-Slavery Society of New York, what became of it? Why it died there. (cheers.) They could not even persuade any of the great leading newspapers of the north to insert their publications, or to let facts they stated with respect to the West Indian experiment, and it was utterly impossible for many of those present to imagine the ignorance that pervaded the northern public with respect to the question of slavery; and in spite of that ignorance they would not be instructed. Though there was no room in any portion of the American press for the advocacy of the slavery abolitionists, or the statements of their proceedings, yet full latitude was given to the distorted calumnies of the Jamaica press. (Hear, hear.) There was, in fact, no attention paid to anti-slavery publications in the United States, with the exception of some of the slave-holding portion of the community, who occasionally alluded to them because their feelings were harrowed up by them, and they were told truths which they did not like and could not deny. Now, in order to show the manner in which those who advocate the abolition of slavery were treated in Boston; he would advert to a circumstance which took place. In that city they had an Athenæum, in which was a very extensive library. Lydia Maria Child, an individual who must be known to all present for her literary productions, was some time since allowed the use of the library there, but since she had written works against slavery, that permission had been recalled. She had been told that her works had been thrown out of the window by the Solicitor-General of Massachusetts, and the greatest indignity had been used towards her. Several similar cases had taken place in other parts of the United States, and the fact was, that unless some different course was adopted, the Anti-Slavery Society might just as well bottle up their publications, and place them under the corner stones of the great buildings in America, as attempt to give them circulation through the whole community of the United States. The voice that was put forward in this great cause, and which spoke so loudly in England—was in America only a whisper, which was drowned in the discussion of parties. Mr. O'Connell had told them that morning that the flag of England floated in every sea, and its voice was heard in the remotest parts of the world. He agreed with that honourable gentleman in all that he had stated on this important subject, and he trusted that this country would make its voice heard in America, in behalf of those who were in bondage there. (Hear, hear.) They had been asked if they had not agitated the anti-slavery question in America as Wilberforce did in England? They were doing so, and all they wished was, that the English people,—through the press, should state that they were doing so—(Hear, hear, and cheers)—as that would effectually silence the malice of those who call the advocates of the abolition of slavery fanatics. (Loud cheers.) When he went back to America and told them that he had seen the white man and the black man walk arm in arm, he should not be believed. Why? Because he was an abolitionist. (cheers.) He wished to have it recorded by the British press, that the colored man was to be received in the same manner as the white—that they were to be considered as brothers, deriving life and health from the same benficent Creator. That was the principle, and the true principle, of the abolitionist, the man who was so despised and so little heeded in America. All the publications of the Anti-Slavery Society were discarded in America; and he would venture to say, that even the tract of Mr. Weld would not be read by one in a thousand persons in America. But if these things were only noticed in the *Edinburgh Review*, and some of the other publications in this country, they would be read in America with the greatest avidity. (cheers.) Mr. Stanton had alluded to the East India question, and had said that they should strike off the shackles of the slaves, by appealing to the slave-owners' pockets. That might be all very well,—but there was something more required than that. There must be an appeal to his conscience; he must be persuaded that the slave was a brother; and that his duty towards his God, his duty towards man, forbade him to deal in human blood and flesh. Such was the object of the Anti-Slavery Society—such was the object of those who advocated its principles. Their wish was to raise the man who was a slave to a level with his fellow-man. They wished to do that by education, and also by exciting the sympathy of Christians in his behalf. That was only to be done by the expression of the public sentiment—the religious public sentiments of England in their behalf. (Hear.) To show again the spirit which existed in America against those who advocated the abolition of slavery, he might just mention that the *Emancipator*, a publication the object of which was to be known from its name, had frequently been returned from the north to the south, because the postmaster would not send it forward! and such was the height to which prejudice was carried on this subject in America, that if they were told in the pages of the *Emancipator* that such and such and such was the case, they would not believe it, but would say it was an anti-slavery lie. (cheers.) But if the same thing were only told them by a portion of the British press, they would believe every word of it. The fact was, that it might be said of America in this country, that the sceptre had not departed from Judah—(cheers)—that though the connexion had been dissolved between this country and America, as far as holding its own Parliaments and directing its own affairs, yet they were in its vassalage as far as talents and genius were concerned. The Anti-Slavery abolitionists had eloquent and devoted men in their cause, but the American public would not listen to them. England, and England alone, was the fulcrum by which American slavery was to be uprooted for ever. It rested not with America, for it was beyond her power. (Hear, hear.)

The worthy gentleman concluded by seconding the resolution.

Mr. Stanton wished, before the question was put from the chair, to state one or two facts showing the palpable ignorance in America of the proceedings of those who advocated the abolition of slavery. In one instance, a Senator of Connecticut had stated to him that he did not know the fact that Great Britain had emancipated the slaves in its colonies. (Laughter.) Another fact was with respect to a member of the Congress of Ohio, who had stated that he did not know that Great Britain had put an end to slavery in her West Indian colonies. (Hear, hear.)

Mr G. Bradburn, of Massachusetts, wished to make a few observations before the resolutions were put. He agreed with the statements of his friend who had preceded him with respect to the ignorance of the Americans as to the proceedings in this country of those who advocate the abolition of the slave-trade. He was, afraid that that ignorance was not genuine. He believed that they knew the truth well enough, but they were not willing to admit it; and the only way to make them do so was by publishing the exertions of those who endeavored to put an end to slavery, in the publications of this country. (Hear, hear.) The Americans called themselves a Republic. Now he thought that it might be as well to try those who were against the abolition of slavery by their own theory. Now, what was the meaning of the term Republic? Why it meant a State governed for the interest of the whole community. Was the interest of the whole community, he would ask, considered by any State, whether a republic or not, when slavery was allowed to exist! Yet such was the state of things in Republican America. Why even the Autocrat of Russia, who held his authority from God alone, admitted that the Government should be carried on for the benefit of the people; and he would venture to say that the Government of Russia was far more like a republic than the Government of America, for in the latter country they did not profess to carry on the Government for the benefit of the whole for there it was said that all men were born equal with one another, with the exception of negroes. (Laughter.) They had not the liberty of the press in America, neither had they religious liberty, for a man in that country could not alter his religious convictions with respect to slavery unless that conviction was that it was patriarchal. He hoped the periodicals of Great Britian would take some pains to hold up in their true character a large number of persons in America who called themselves abolitionists. Those who did so were the very worst enemies the Anti-Slavery advocate had to deal with, for they called themselves Abolitionists because they did not wish it to be known how hostile they were to the just principles of humanity. It was one thing for them to call themselves Abolitionists, and another to be so in reality. It was upon record, and history would therefore prove it, that at the time of the adoption of the American Constitution it was stated, that not half a century would elapse before every State in America would put a total and entire end to slavery, and but for those terms, it was his firm belief that that instrument would never have received the sanction of the States. The truth was, that every state in America was by that instrument placed under a solemn obligation to put an end to slavery. He trusted that the British people would labor to convince the clergy of the necessity of this great work, for hitherto he must confess that the British clergy were more in favour of emancipation than they were in America. (cheers.) He trusted that the people of this country would send forth the voice of earnest but affectionate remonstrance among the clergy on this subject, in order that they might impress upon the American clergy what their duties really were; and he would venture to say, that if they only put the 17,000 clergy of America right upon this subject, they would deal such a blow upon the monster slavery as would send him staggering to his own dark hiding place. They did not want ministers in America to partake of their hospitalities, and pronounce them to be excellent, but what they wanted was, that they should come there prepared heart and soul to exert every power that they possessed to accomplish so great a work as that of the total extinction of slavery from the face of the globe. (cheers.) By accomplishing such an object they would do something for the cause of humanity, Christianity, and justice. But then it was said that slavery was advocated and enforced in the Bible. Now, if it were so, with all the veneration that he had for that holy book, if it were shown to him that it sanctioned the traffic in human flesh, he would throw it from him, and learn again his religion and philosophy from the flowers of the fields. (cheers.) It had been proved that emancipation was not only practicable but profitable, and the slave-owners must, therefore, either admit themselves wrong, or assert that slavery was a Christian institution. They had chosen the latter, and they must abide by the decision. The worthy gentleman sat down amidst much cheering.

Colonel Miller wished to make a few observations before the resolution was put. He was sorry to say that in America every species of Christian, the Baptist, the Wesleyan, the Presbyterian, and all other denominations, were owners of slaves. This was alike disgraceful to the parties concerned, and the country in which it took place.

The Hon. Gentleman having concluded,

The Chairman said the Rev. Mr. Binney wished to put a question to Mr. Bradburn, but he hoped that Rev. Gentleman would refrain from all personalities.

The Rev. Mr. Binney—Do you know my question, Sir?

The Chairman—No, I do not, but being afraid that a personal discussion might be renewed, I ventured to make that observation.

The Rev. Mr. Binney—It is very obvious from the remark of the Chairman, that there was a personal allusion, or else he could not have made the remark he has. (No, no.) I wish to enquire, and I have partly a personal, and partly a Christian reason, for asking the question, whether the hon. gentleman did allude to what I said when he stated that it had been declared on the floor of this room that the New Testament sanctioned slavery?

Mr. Bradburn.—I referred to a certain remark which I heard some gentleman make; but whether the gentleman who spoke last, or some other, I cannot say. The statement made was, that "beyond all doubt the members of the primitive church did call man their property." I said this was the definition of slavery in America—the holding of human beings as property. We have never attacked any modification of slavery, but the thing itself, which consists in claiming property in an immortal being. (Hear, hear.) Well then, I say, if that gentleman who made the remark, whoever he was, will satisfy me that the New Testament did sanction the holding of immortal beings as property, chattels, goods, things, I would spurn the Book—I would scatter its leaves to the wind. (Murmurs of disapprobation, and cries of "No, no," and "Hear, hear.")

The Rev. Mr. Binney.—It is very evident, sir, so far as I am personally concerned, that that statement alludes to me. I stated my private opinion, and I said there were in the primitive Churches, men who had property in slaves.—I did not say the New Testament sanctioned slavery, but I stated as a simple fact that in the primitive church there were slaveholders, and, therefore, that the New Testament did not sanction us in saying we could call the Church together to put a slaveholder out unless we defined the matter a little more. The Reverend gentleman then went on to state that he could quote passages from the Old Testament, showing that not only was slavery then tolerated, but that laws were framed for its regulation upon which—

A Delegate rose to order, and protested against the Convention enjoying itself in theological discussions.

The Reverend Mr. Binney then became considerably excited, and with a loud voice exclaimed, "I am a Christian, and will not be put down." (A voice "Conduct yourself as a Christian, then.") The statement of the gentleman about the New Testament, reminds me of a man who said, "if Jesus Christ instituted wine at an ordinance, he is no Saviour for me." (Great confusion then ensued, and several delegates rose at once, and cried "Order, order, Chair, chair.")

The Chairman interfered: and having produced order, the Rev. Mr. Binney and Mr. Bradburn mutually explained and the discussion was resumed by

Captain Stuart, who said, he for one should feel he had come here in vain unless their common God was vindicated from the aspersions that had been uttered against Him.—They ought to go into the matter like brethren, and fully, fairly, and freely declare to the world what they thought the mind of the God of love to be, about slavery. If the dear brother whose heart of love, he knew, meant by affirming that there were slaveholders in the primitive church in the same sense that there were incestuous persons in the primitive church—drunkards and persons who went to the table of the Lord in the way they read of in the Corinthians, then he admitted that, and would bid them who stood up for the slaveholder to take what courage they could. (Hear, hear.)—His conviction and experience went with his dear American brethren in affirming that the preachers who went to the United States from England were among the foremost and most powerful supporters of the slave system in that land. (Hear, hear.)

Dr. Cox of Hackney, protested against the gross personal allusions that were made respecting persons in that Convention. If that course were continued, not only would their great cause be obstructed, but their enemies would rejoice at their disunion.

Mr. Bradburn, in making the remarks he did, had not the slightest intention of alluding to any individual present.—(Hear, hear.)

The Rev. Mr. Keep, from the Oberlin Institute, next addressed the meeting. He had intended to have done so at some length, but many of his observations had been anticipated by those who had preceded him, who had come from his native country. He felt that scarcely any individuals of the human family were ever convened under circumstances of so deep and solemn a character as those that attended that Convention. He had wished to have presented a few statements in regard to the ministry and churches. He had been in the ministry in America ever since 1805, and would give his public attestation to the fact which had been so often persisted in on the floor of that room, that it was in the ministry and in the churches that slavery now found its strongest possible support. The rev. gentleman then mentioned several facts and anecdotes illustrative of the contumely and cruelty with which a coloured person was treated in America, and proceeded to observe that the abolition enterprise in America had its foundation in deep and solemn spiritual feeling. There were those in that country who had sighed and cried for the abomination of the land—who had gone before God in sackcloth, and habitually from week to week, and year to year, and who now saw the fruits of their prayers in such instances as that brother near him, who a little time ago was a slaveholder, but who now, by the grace of God, had been able to shake from himself that enormity, and to be righteous before God and just in his generation. (Cheers.) He thought the debate had better be adjourned till the following day, and allow their American brethren to tell their story in their own way. Hear them then through, let them state all, and then they would know what American slavery was. They would then know how to pray for them, and how to help them. English people hardly knew the degradation of the colored population. There were three millions of human beings, who had been crushed and kept down from generation to generation, with the utmost contempt heaped upon them, and the severest injury inflicted. The people of England had felt themselves degraded by the system of slavery which existed in their colonies; but what would they have felt if they had held one-sixth of their population in that state! However, if that Convention proceeded, although he did not expect to live much longer, he hoped that in five years he would see its exertions crowned with success. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Foster could not leave the room, without craving the indulgence of the meeting for a few moments. He hoped that the statement of his friend, who was not now in the room, should not be misunderstood, so as to lead to injurious consequences to the cause, and to Christianity. (Hear, hear.) The Society was based on Christian principles, and recognized no rules of action that were not sanctioned by the Holy Scriptures. (Applause.)

The Rev. Mr. Colver, of Boston, in reference to the allusions which had been made to his country, would only say, in the language of one of the beautiful poets of England, "America, with all thy faults, I love thee still." (Applause.) He admitted that there was a great reproach upon his country for its support of slavery, and he believed that the literature of Great Britain might be of essential service in removing that stain. (Hear, hear.) It might do much towards liberating the slave-owners, the judges of the land, and the representatives of the people, from the bondage in which they were held in respect to this question.—(Hear, hear.)

Mr. Galusha said the meeting must remember that there was but one odious blot upon the character of America.—The only apology he could offer for his country, was, that it was possessed by the devil. (cheers.) The delegates from America asked for the aid of the people of England, through their literature, their religion, and their prayers to exorcise America, and drive the demon of slavery out of her. (cheers and a laugh.)

After a few words from Mr. Fuller and Mr. Lester, the resolution was agreed to.

The Chairman wished to say a few words, in respect to the feelings of their American friends. It was the duty of the English public to recollect that, under the blessing of God they had been healed only very lately of their own sores. (cheers.) They ought to thank their American brethren for exposing their ailments, and asking for assistance in removing them. (Hear.)

Mr. Backhouse moved a resolution to the effect, that the documents which lay on the table, relating to the state of slavery in America, should be referred to a committee to consider and report thereon, with a view to their publication.

After a prolonged and very desultory conversation, the motion was agreed to, and the Convention adjourned till ten o'clock to-morrow (this day.)

A Committee on Free Labour was appointed, consisting of Messrs. John Cropper, Josiah Conder, John Sturge, William Boultbee, and William Kay; also a committee on the results of emancipation in the British colonies, consisting of Messrs. Samuel Bowley, Knibb; Jos. Eaton, Prescod; Captain Stuart; W. W. Anderson, and W. Morgan.

We shall continue to publish the proceedings of the Convention until we have completed them. We regret that East India slavery did not occupy more of the time of the Convention.

From the Liberator.

The Rejected Protest.

London, July 3, 1840.

Dear Johnson—I send you the accompanying Protest against the exclusion of a portion of the American delegates from the General Anti-Slavery Convention in this city, and also against some of the proceedings of that body, for insertion in the Liberator. It was drawn up by Prof. Adam, of Harvard University, who has signalized himself for his fidelity to the cause of human rights, and his uncompromising regard for the principles of genuine reform. Those only who were members of the Convention have signed this Protest. The delegates who were excluded from the same will prepare one of their own, which will be forwarded to you by the earliest conveyance.

The Protest was read, at the close of the Convention, by Wendell Phillips, and produced a strong sensation. It was treated in the most disrespectful manner; and, on motion of *Rev. Nathaniel Colver, of Boston*, seconded by Rev. John Scoble, was *laid on the table*, in imitation of the example of the slaveholders and their tools in the American Congress, respecting the petitions of abolitionists. The request to have it printed with the proceedings of the Convention was denied, in the spirit of cowardice and injustice. Such conduct must inevitably produce a reaction. O'Connell, Bowring, Ashurst, and other eminent men, have expressed their disgust and indignation at the exclusion of the American women, and the result will, I am sure, be most advantageous to the cause of our common humanity.

Yours, faithfully,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

London, June 23, 1840.

PROTEST.

We, the undersigned, delegates to the General Anti-Slavery Convention which was proposed to be held in London on the 12th of June, 1840, anxious to promote the usefulness of this and of future Conventions, deem it a part of our duty to place upon record this our solemn PROTEST against certain principles recognized, and proceedings held in the aforesaid Convention. This Convention, in our judgment, affords precedents both to be followed, and to be avoided; and the useful purposes which it may subserve would be in an important measure abridged, if the latter were not prominently exhibited. The errors that have been committed may have arisen from the novelty of the circumstances, and consequent inexperience, or from a want of attention to first principles, until steps were taken which could not readily be recalled; from any cause, we are willing to suppose, than from a deficiency of zeal and devotedness to the great object of the emancipation of the human race from slavery; but, to whatever cause they may be attributable, either in the judgment of Christian charity, or as a matter of fact, the obligation is not less imperative to guard, as far as possible, against their future recognition and adoption.

I. We protest, first, against the limited character given to the Convention. When we were delegated to attend this Convention, we had supposed that it would be a Convention of delegates from various parts of the world, which should exist and act distinct, separate and independent of all contemporary anti-slavery associations, except in so far as those associations were represented in the persons of their delegates. Instead of this, we have received the intimation, practically confirmed by numerous circumstances, that this Convention is of the nature of a Conference with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society of London—a Society whose object, as far as we understand them, we entirely approve, just as we approve of the objects of every Anti-Slavery Society elsewhere, but which we supposed, like them would have been represented by its delegates,—and would have sustained no other relation to the Convention than such a delegation implies. We deny that the Convention should be deemed an offshoot or emanation from any one anti-slavery society whatever, and that so to describe, constitute and conduct it, is to lower its character and contract its usefulness, and thus to commit an act of injustice to the friends of the slave, and to the sacred cause of humanity.

II. We protest against the recognition of the roll of delgates handed in by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. To accept such a roll, authenticated only by that Committee, which was self-constituted for such a purpose, and derived no authority from the Convention to undertake such a duty, is to subject the Convention to the will of a few, and to give those few the absolute power of framing the Convention according to their own pleasure.

III. We protest against the power assumed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to exclude from membership in the Convention, persons duly delegated by anti-slavery societies in America—a power which that Committee assumed even before the Covention was constituted; thus in one act trampling on the rights of individuals, and dictating to the Convention about to assemble: while, on the other hand, that Committee assumed the power to make all its own members, and all the corresponding members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, *ex officio*, members of the Convention—a power not granted by the Convention, and not assumed by any other Anti-Slavery committee or Society.

IV. We protest against the power assumed by the Convention, to exclude the same persons from membership,—since it rested exclusively with the societies by which they were delegated to determine by whom those societies should be represented.

V. We protest against the deference shown to mere custom and usage in a Convention of Delegates from all parts of the World, it having been declared to be chiefly from such considerations that membership was denied to the aforesaid delegates—a ground of expediency inconsistent with the principle of the whole Anti-Slavery movement, and with the original character of the Convention.

VI. Finally, we protest against the irregular and impartial manner in which the rules of debate have been administered—there having been no real freedom of discussion, and the right to speak having been often determined, not by any general principle applicable to all alike, but by the favor or disfavor with which the speaker or the subject was regarded by the party wielding the power of the meeting. While necessity imposes on us the painful duty we have now discharged, we feel equally bound to express our most sincere and cordial concurrence in the general objects and measures which have received the sanction of the Convention.

W. Adam, Wendell Phillips,
James Mott, Jona. P. Miller,
Chas. E. Lester, Geo. Bradburn,
Isaac Winslow.

Extracts of Letters from Mr. Garrison.

The Liberator contains several extracts from private letters written by Mr. Garrison since his embarkation for England. We regret that we have not space for the whole of them. They are deeply interesting.

In the Gulf Stream, May 28.

Six days at sea, and yet not more than one day's sail from New-York! We left that city on the 22d inst. at noon, and were towed down to Sandy Hook by a little pigmy of a steamer, with the formidable name of *Sampson*, which gallantly grappled with our huge packet ship, and carried her through the water as though she were scarcely an incumbrance. The dismal northeasterly storm, which had detained us so long in port had almost wholly passed away, and the wind, though light, appeared to be in the right quarter. The pilot left us about 3 o'clock, at which time I began to feel quite seasick. It was with the greatest difficulty that I was able to write a very brief epistle to brother Johnson. Day after day, we have been battling about from north to south, and from south to north, making scarcely any headway direct—now aiming for Charleston, S. C., and now for Halifax, N. S., till at last we find ourselves in the Gulf Stream, almost entirely becalmed. We have had, however, this consolation, (not a selfish one, I trust,) that we have overtaken and distanced several vessels, and have had none to go ahead of us. The weather, moreover, has been uniformly clear, mild, delightful, with scarcely a cloud to be seen in the horizon, the sun looking down upon us with a smile of complacency, the shoreless birds following in our wake on tireless wing, the waves heaving softly and harmoniously together, and occasionally a swarm of fish trooping gaily around us. Still, here we are, and with very little prospect that we shall be in London in accordance with our hopes and expectations at the time of our departure. It is all right, and I feel nothing of impatience or disquietude in my mind at our situation and prospects; because I know that the Almighty can never do ought amiss, and that he is disposed and has the ability to govern winds, waves and ocean in the best possible manner. All my fears, anxieties, cares, I have thrown upon him; and, let what may happen, I feel within me a spirit which says, 'Not my will, but thine be done, O God'—a spirit of cordial, hearty acquiescence, not of forced submission.

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Captain Cropper is a Virginian, of Herculean stature, free and easy in his manners, and not at all disposed to display his authority, or to act the part of a despotic commander. Our passengers constitute rather a motley assemblage. In the steerage there are betwen forty and fifty, mostly Irish and Scotch. In the cabins we have about thirty,—American, German, Scotch, Irish, English, &c. Of Americans, there are not more than two or three, beside Grosvenor, Rogers, and myself. There are some half a dozen women, but none of them appear to be of cultivated minds. The men (with the exception of us three, and one other person,) are a prayerless, godless, drinking, card-playing, low-minded set, boisterous in their merriment, coarse in their manners, and disposed to make light of every thing serious and sacred. To attempt to reason with them is like casting pearls to swine. We have had some serious conversations with them on various topics, and, not altogether in vain; but they are awfully estranged from God and the spirit of his dear Son. They treat us, however, quite respectfully, and feel themselves restrained, to some extent, in our presence.—The thought of being associated with them for three or four weeks longer, is by no means agreeable. If such were to be my companions throughout eternity, how miserable should I be, especially if there were any affinity between my spirit and theirs! I hope we shall do them some good; and, if so, I shall not regret that we have fallen into their company. O, how large a portion of mankind live like beasts, 'without God, and without hope in the world,' enemies to each other, caring for nothing but the gratification of their lusts and appetites, and dead in trespasses and sins! * * * Nearly all the passengers indulge pretty freely in drinking brandy, wine, porter, &c. They banter us occasionally for our temperate habits, and we rebuke them quite as often for their tippling.

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Monday morning, June 15.

Providence is smiling upon us most benignly. Since I finished my scrawl to you of yesterday, every thing pertaining to sky, air and water, has been of the most delightful character. We are now within one hundred and twenty-five miles of Liverpool, with a tranquil sea, and going at the rate of eight or ten knots an hour; so that there is scarcely a doubt that we shall be walking in the streets of Liverpool in the course of twenty-four hours. But there is a homely adage, 'Do not halloo until you get out of the woods,' and another to this effect, 'There is many a slip between the cup and the lip,' so I will not allow myself to be too sanguine on this point. Should we not be disappointed, however, we shall remain to-morrow night in Liverpool, and on Wednesday morning take the cars for London, which will soon carry us to the 'capital city of mankind.' Last night it was very beautiful—the moon shone brightly, illuminating the sea with its joyous beams, pouring a radiant tide of light upon our gallant bark, and revealing to us in the distance, the outlines of the Irish coast—and the stars looked down upon us with their angelic eyes, as if to steal away our hearts—and the waves chanted melodious music—and 'all went merry as a marriage bell.' Feelingly I exclaimed with the poet—

"Most glorious night! thou wast not made for slumber!"

and so I continued to pace the deck until a late hour, musing upon many things, and now and then giving a yearning look toward the blue West, where lies the dearest home of all the homes on earth—*i. e.* the dearest to me. At midnight I threw myself into my birth and found (what I could not the night previous,) repose and sleep. The morning has broken upon us splendidly. I begin to feel as if I were not wholly lost to mankind, and could be of some little service to somebody in this suffering world. God grant that my mission to England may not be in vain! My weakness is perfect, but his strength is infinite; my judgment fallible—his wisdom unerring; my ignorance excessive—his knowledge vast and exhaustless. Aid me, O God, at this crisis! Make my tongue as the pen of a ready writer; fill my mind with great and good thoughts, give me a double portion of thy grace; and exert over me a loving mastery in all things!

Near Hollyhead, 70 miles from Liverpool,
Monday afternoon, June 15, 1840—*5 o'clock.*

I again seize my pen to fill up another sheet for your perusal, which will be the last you may expect from me until after my arrival in London—if, peradventure, we shall be permitted to reach Liverpool in safety. I say *if*—for within an hour our situation has been changed from one of apparent security to one of very great peril. For the last week we have been favored so remarkably as to wind and weather, that I was led to say to Captain Cropper to-day, [noon] that, if they had been placed under his control, he could not have fashioned them more to his mind. Since morning, up to the time at which I am now writing, our speed has been swift, to an extraordinary degree; and at this moment, aided by a strong current, it is very great.—But a violent gale has suddenly set in, accompanied by a dense fog, and our path is momentarily becoming more and more perilous. We are close in the neighborhood of Hollyhead, a high rocky elevation, to pass which safely, will require no little seamanship, as we are situated; and it is evident that our captain, than whom no one can easily be found better qualified to meet such an emergency, regards it as a serious matter. The noisy uproar of our dinner table has given place to a silent concern for the issue, and every countenance wears a grave aspect. Our danger lies not so much in the gale, as in the fog; for, in clear weather, every rock and shoal could be discerned, and avoided without much difficulty. It is peculiarly trying to be shrouded in a thick mist at the very moment when light and vision are most needed.

6 o'clock, P. M. Both the wind and the fog are increasing, but we have past Hollyhead in safety. We have escaped one danger, however, only to encounter others equally formidable; for the navigation up the channel is continually growing more intricate and difficult, all the way to Liverpool. Happily, we are expecting soon to obtain a pilot; and who is to be compared to 'the pilot who weathers the storm!' Perhaps the fog will prevent our being seen. One thing is certain: without a pilot, there will not be much quietude of mind among our passengers to night. We have shortened sail, and retarded the speed of our ship, and are proceeding onward with all possible wariness.

7 o'clock. The gale continues, but now and then the fog clears up, so that we are enabled to ascertain our position. The Welsh mountains are on our right, and, with their robes of mist, look grim and spectre-like. All eyes are strained to discern a pilot boat, and, to our great relief, one is seen bearing down upon us. A ship is just ahead of us, also waiting for a pilot. The boat is now alongside of her, and has supplied her with one. Will she see our signal! and, if so, can she accommodate us in the same manner! Here she comes—and

added, "they would not pray in public." To which follows, by direct insinuation, that, while the Convention makes the abolition of slavery a test of church membership, yet those same men are virtually atheists, for they would not "acknowledge the existence of God by the simple act of prayer;" when it had previously been narrated that they were all simultaneously engaged in devotional exercises. That sagacious commentator must have forgotten the American Bible Society, and other associations composed of various classes of religious professors, where all the members agree not to interfere with each others' forms and ceremonies.

Verily it is wondrous pitiful to read the absurdities of persons who have not reached the *prime* of life, charging such men as John Angell James, William Knibb, John Scoble, Thomas Price, and their compeers, with practically denying the existence of God—and also slanderously reporting and affirming that those champions of the gospel "do not pray," and therefore all "*church* organizations must be offensive" to them.

That perverter of the doings at the World's Convention says, that Mr. James' resolutions will "alienate feelings, and place impenetrable barriers" between the British Christians and the slaveholders. Undoubtedly (!) that is the design of them; to brand American preachers and professors who breed and traffic in slaves, scourge, starve, and drive them in ignorance and misery to everlasting despair, as totally unworthy of the name of a Christian. Slavery never will be abolished in the United States by pacific means as long as ministers of the Gospel can stand up in General Assemblies, and other similar ecclesiastical bodies, and without censure, avow their participation in the felonious enormities and criminality of slave-trading.

It is also said that those resolutions will "scarcely avail anything in this country." They will have one good effect abroad—they will hinder such men as Robert J. Breckenridge from disgracing the American Anti-Slavery ministers and churches before the Christians of Britain and Europe.

OBSERVER.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

MARLBORO,' Ulster Co., N. Y., July 2d, 1840.

Rev. Alexander Proudfit, Corresponding Secretary of the New-York Colonization Society.

Sir—I received a circular signed by yourself and others, stating a resolution of the New-York City Colonization Society, requesting a contribution "for the cause of Colonization on the 5th of July, the Sabbath immediately succeeding the Anniversary of our National Independence." Appended to the circular are several names of high respectability. Many of them I have been taught to reverence from my childhood, and were I led by the influence of names, I should probably accede to the request and take up a collection. There are those among us who love to cast in our mite into the treasury of the Lord. When a request comes from the Bible, Missionary, Tract, or Education Societies, or for any truly benevolent object, we love to testify our affection for it. But when such a request comes from the Colonization Society, I believe there are most weighty reasons why we should not accede to it. You will bear with me while I state very briefly some of those reasons. I should not have presumed to address you, but you have given me the right to do so by sending me your circular.

Some of my reasons for refusing to take up a collection, are—

1. The principles of the Colonization Society contain more of evil than of good.

These principles I gather from the general tenor of accredited speeches, resolutions, reports, &c. as well as from the constitution. They teach that the slaveholder has a *right* to hold his fellow-men as property.—*Af. Repos. I. p.* 283; do. *VII. pp.* 100 and 200—That the slaves ought not to be freed without expatriation—that our colored population are *nuisances*, *&c.*, thus evincing an entire disregard of the second great command, which requires us to love our neighbor.

2. The practices of the Society greatly tend to increase a wicked prejudice against our colored population, and to rivet more firmly the chains of the slave.

All attempts to benefit the free-colored population in this their native land are discouraged, and sentiments of contempt and hatred are constantly inculcated in relation to them, and the emancipation of slaves is discouraged.

3. The Society is guilty of inconsistency. At one time it says that slavery is sinful, and advocates a continuance of that sin. At another it denies that slavery is sinful all things considered, and yet it professes (at the *North*) to use great exertions to put an end to slavery.

I believe the existence of your society is one of the greatest obstacles in the way of emancipation. I consider you chargeable before God for a great part of the guilt of slavery—for most of the tumults and mobs that have agitated our country within a few years past, and every day that you continue your operations you are doing cruel injustice of which you will be ashamed in the day of judgment, and the guilt of which can only be obliterated by the all-cleansing blood of Christ.

You perceive that I disapprove the object of your proposed contribution. I also disapprove of the time selected for it. No works but those of necessity and *mercy* ought to be done on the Lord's day, and surely this is neither—it is a work of cruelty. I should be ashamed and afraid to appear before the Throne of Grace in behalf of this object at any time, and especially in the pulpit and on the Sabbath.

The request is that it be done on the fifth of July. A day so near the 4th ought not to have been selected. How could a friend of Liberty hear the words of our Declaration of Independence—"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that God created all men equal and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and then the next day go into God's house and pay his money for the support of a society which says those dear and "inalienable rights" can be alienated, and that those boasted principles for which our fathers fought and bled are only applicable to a part even of our own countrymen.

Were you not an Elder, Rev. sir, I would rebuke you in the name of the Lord, for my soul is filled with indignation when I think on the duplicity and cruel wickedness of the Colonization Society which you help to uphold. My blood boils within me when I think of the wrongs of the poor oppressed slaves—of defenceless women even, scourged to their unrequited toil, and dragging out a miserable existence, and sinking to the grave in heathenish ignorance, even in this land of boasted liberty and gospel light, and then reflect that a society of learned and reverend men uphold and sustain this system. O I beseech you sir, and all your colleagues, be ashamed of your course and repent before you are called into the presence of the Meek and Lowly One.

With sentiments of respect to yourself as a man and a clergyman, but with no sympathy for Colonization principles, I remain

Your friend in the bonds of the gospel,

HENRY BELDEN,

Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Marlboro', N. Y.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

Slaves' Donation for Colonization purposes.

It is a remarkable fact, (so far as we know,) that this institution is now more than twenty years old, and yet this is the first money ever given to it by colored persons, bond or free.

We perceive by a notice in the Journal of Commerce that a few slaves somewhere had seen in the New-York Observer an extract from Mr. Buxton's late work on the African Slave Trade, and wonderful to tell, the leading Colonizationists has so *twisted* and *perverted* the sentiments of that eminent Statesman, as to make them favorable to the American Colonization *Scheme*, and to show how determined these men are to deceive the ignorant and take advantage of the rising tide of benevolence towards the oppressed, and turn it into the support of some *worn or rusted* out clergymen. They know that, in 1833, this same *Mr. Buxton*, in connexion with Wilberforce, Clarkson, and others, sent over to this country a protest against the American Colonization *Scheme*. Really the selfishness of these *gentlemen* remind us of the leather dealer, who *contended* that leather was the very best material that could be used to build a *fortification*. We do hope, therefore, that no more donations from the poor slaves will be obtained for Colonization purposes, unless it be by fair and *honorable* means.

A FUGITIVE SLAVE.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

Though the women of this country failed of admission into the Convention as delegates, they yet effected at least a partial inroad upon English usages, and to some extent enlarged the "appropriate sphere" of their sex in the Anti-Slavery field. Heretofore, we are told—somewhat to our surprise, too—women have not been admitted to *business* meetings, even as spectators, but on this occasion the men could not utterly exclude their American sisters, who had come so far to be with them on an occasion of such interest, so they adopted a rule admitting women to sit without the bar, in a position convenient for seeing and hearing everything which was done, and for holding communication, too, with such of the members as chose to stray to their seats, and engage in conversation with them. In consequence of this liberty, a number of women, small at first, but increasing continually as the meetings went on, attended, and seem to have evinced a lively interest in the proceedings. Every kindness, says our informant, was extended to the female delegates, in exchange for denied rights, and from all that we have been able to gather from various sources, it is evident that a decidedly favorable impression was made by their attendance.

A protest against their exclusion was presented by some of the American delegates, but on motion of Nathaniel Colver, it was laid on the table. This seems hardly courteous, to say the least of it, and it is a kind of usage which the mover and his friends this side of the water, have never experienced at the hands of the majority, which has repeatedly decided the same question against them, and has always received their protests and published them with the proceedings of the body.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 6, 1840.

The London Convention.

A true and veteran friend of human liberty says, in a letter received a few days since, "I have no right to do evil, nor to wish it done, that good may come; but I confess, I see in the narrow and inquisitorial proceedings of the British and Foreign Committee, and the acquiescence of the half-way Convention, a pledge of the sure and rapid progress of truth, and of the speedy triumph of impartial liberty. I blush and hang my head for the men and the times, but I exult in the probable consequences. "Contrary to the *British* usages," forsooth! When their mighty empire is governed by a woman, who lately decreed that her husband should take rank *next* to herself! "Contrary to usage!" Is not emancipation itself contrary to usage? Was not that very Convention "contrary to usage?" But they contracted it to "a conference of foreign Abolitionists with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," but this did not help the managers out of their dilemma; for had not *we* a right to choose our own *conferees*? How would the branch of a Legislature, which asked a conference with another branch look, in objecting to the persons appointed on the committee of conference! Turn which way they may, they cannot find firm footing in their present position."

Never, indeed, did men of reputed sense, offer a more absurd plea for an absurd violation of justice, and a bolder denial of human rights. Anti-Slavery societies exist for the special purpose of subverting long established usages. *Usage*, in fact, is the life of all prevalent evils. We see in this trifling plea a mere stratagem—a most unworthy resort to get rid of a question which they dared not meet on fair grounds. The question (since *any* question was admitted) should have been, on denying to conferees whom *they themselves* had summoned, *the right of conference*, and further, on denying to the American Anti-Slavery Society the right to choose *its own referees*. It was a greater violation of *usage* to deny to us this right, than it would have been for them to admit our delegates without question. But what could be expected of a convention that subjected the venerable Clarkson to the pupilage of a child! *His speech must be examined by the committee!!* Verily, it seemeth to us, that this was "contrary to usage" also.

First of August, 1840.

The anniversary of the day that gave freedom to eight hundred thousand British abjects will ever be hailed by the friends of humanity as a day for rejoicing. This triumph of truth in the hearts of a mighty people over prejudice and error, of principle over selfish and power-loving expediency, of liberty over slavery, humanity over brutality, will continue to be commemorated while reason, justice and religion hold sway over mankind.

We are told from certain sources that free labor does not work well in the West India Islands, and therefore our country should draw therefrom no practical lessons in reference to slavery in the Southern States.

Grant that (which is denied on all hands by indisputable evidence,) the present system does not produce so much as the slave labor system. How ineffably mean is the objection, the substance of which amounts to this: if we cannot have sugar at the same prices as formerly, justice ought not to be executed in the morning and the spoiled, delivered out of the hands of the spoiler. Suppose what none dare to assert that the system of free labor works badly in the West Indies. Suppose not more than half the usual amount of labor be performed. What has that to do with restoring the wife to her husband, the babe to its mother, and giving of wages to the laborer. What if free labor should be less profitable even than slave. Would that prove the justice and safety of continued slavery? Will outraged humanity be satisfied and be silent, so that the planter increase in wealth? The principle that the laborer is worthy of his hire does not depend upon the price current of 1836, or any other year.—The domestic relations are not to be left at the mercy of the crops. The exemption of woman's back from the lash is not conditional, but imperative with humanity. The demands of justice and mercy are that the slave be free, though we never have another spoonful of sugar or cup of coffee.

The testimony is of the most unquestionable character in behalf of the beneficial effects of emancipation in the West Indies. The statements made at the recent Convention in London are such as to silence all cavilers on this subject. Why then do so many of the papers at the North persist in the face of truth, decency and common humanity, to ridicule emancipation. Why do several prominent religious journals join in deriding these glorious results of humanity?

Meeting at Asbury Meeting-House.

Agreeably to previous notice, a meeting was convened at Asbury Meeting-house, Saturday evening, August 1, 1840. Thomas Van Rensalaer was called to the Chair, and John Hopper appointed Secretary.

The meeting was addressed by Isaac T. Hopper, William M. Chace, and Dr. M'Cune Smith.

The following resolutions presented by James S. Gibbons, were adopted nearly unanimously.

Whereas, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, the British government, by an act of high expediency, unexampled munificence, humanity and justice, ordained that the chains of slavery should be broken from the limbs of the colored population of her West India colonies, by which, in the emphatic language of O'Connell, "eight hundred thousand slaves were turned into eight hundred thousand men;" And whereas, the results of that act have been highly gratifying to the philanthropist, beneficial to the liberated, and profitable to the planter and capitalist, being, in short, advantageous to all, and hurtful to none; therefore,

Resolved, That we deem this, the sixth anniversary of that glorious act, as a fitting occasion on which to testify publicly our gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe, for such an abundant manifestation of his goodness and power. Our fervent desires are, that the influences which worked out the redemption of our fellow-men in the islands of the sea, may operate with increased weight on the mind of the American nation, and speedily turn nearly *three millions of slaves* into *three millions of men*."

Resolved, That to promote this great object is the purpose of the American Anti-Slavery Society,—not, as our enemies allege, by violence and bloodshed, but by pressing home on the understandings and consciences of the people, that it is their duty to God to do justice to their fellow-men, and that *duty* should, on all occasions, take precedence of *interest*, *selfishness*, and *power*.

Resolved, That, acknowledging the free and noble platform on which the American Anti-Slavery Society is based, we pledge ourselves to the work for which it was instituted, and will not abandon it while the foot of a slave presses the soil of our country.

Resolved, That it is highly expedient and necessary to form an Anti-Slavery Society for the city and county of New-York, and that a committee of five persons be appointed to prepare a Constitution, to be presented to an adjournment of this meeting.

The following named persons were appointed said Committee: James S. Gibbons, Joseph Carpenter, Thomas Van Rensalaer, John Powell, and John Hopper.

The following resolutions were submitted by Dr. Smith, and the 3d was opposed by Joshua Leavitt and Charles B. Ray, on the ground that it was meant to be inimical to the colored State Convention. The debate continued till nearly eleven o'clock, when they were passed, nearly unanimously, and as follows.

Resolved, That whilst this meeting cordially rejoices in the progress made by the British philanthropists, in the successful and safe emancipation of the slaves in the West Indies, we yet regard the elective franchise as a boon required by the freemen in order to secure to them their rights and due from the abolitionists, in order to complete and make permanent their triumph.

Resolved, That emulous of such a triumph, and if possible to anticipate the same, this meeting pledges itself to crown the emancipation act of the State of New-York, by obtaining the right of suffrage for those (the people of color) emancipated in 1827.

Resolved, That whilst this meeting deprecates as a violation of principle, any complexionally distinct organization for this purpose, it calls upon all the friends of equal rights, to aid, by all lawful efforts, in obtaining the right of suffrage for the free colored people.

THOMAS VAN RENSALAER, *Pres't.*

JOHN HOPPER, *Secretary.*

Fall River Anti-Slavery Society.

The sixth annual meeting of the Fall River Anti-Slavery Society, was held at the Chapel of the first Baptist Meeting House, July 4th, 1840. The following persons were elected officers of the society for the year ensuing:

President—Hon. Nathaniel B. Borden.
Vice Presidents—Doct. Jotham Sexton, Harvey Chace.
Corresponding Secretary—Dr. Thomas Wilbur.
Recording Secretary—Richard C. French.
Treasurer—James Buffington.
Board of Managers—Jervis Shove, William B. French, John E. Carr, Edward Buffington, George E. Wilbur, Azuriah Shove, Abraham Bowen, Louis Laphan, Benjamin C. Luther.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Resolved, That the present state of our Anti-Slavery operations, more than ever seem to call for the increased energies of all those who feel interested in bringing about the speedy emancipation of the slave.

Resolved, That feeling full confidence that the cause in which we are engaged is a righteous one, we, as members of the Fall River Anti-Slavery Society, will go forward with a full determination that our efforts shall be increased, and that our contributions shall be liberal.

Resolved, That we can but deprecate the divisions that have recently taken place in the Anti-Slavery ranks, and believe that they are calculated more to discourage and retard the Anti-Slavery cause than any thing with which it has met since it first assumed an organized form.

Resolved, However, that while we deprecate the course which by some of our friends has been taken in forming a new and distinct organization, and while of some who have been engaged, and forward in it, there may be some reason to suspect their motives, still we cannot but believe that the great body of those composing that organization, are still disposed, and that they will yet continue to exert themselves and do much in behalf of the down-trodden and the oppressed.

Resolved, Having full confidence in the organization and management of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, that whatever funds may by this Society be raised the ensuing year for the purpose of carrying on the general Anti-Slavery operations of the country, be transmitted to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and there to be disposed of in such a manner as its board of Managers in their discretion may direct.

Resolved, That our confidence in the integrity and clear-sightedness of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, not only remains steadfast and unshaken, but is increased in view of the developments of the past year.

Resolved, That we recommend the Liberator and Cradle of Liberty to the patronage of the friends of the slave.

Resolved, That in view of the proceedings of the late Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society in the transfer of the Emancipator on the eve of the annual meeting of said society, is an act violating the trust reposed in them and deeply censurable.

Resolved, That we recommend the National Anti-Slavery Standard to the support of the friends of humanity, as the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society on the old broad platform.

Resolved, That the Fall River Anti-Slavery Society become responsible for 20 copies of the National Anti-Slavery Standard, for one year from the commencement of its publication.

The Rec. Secretary's report was read and accepted, from which we make the following extracts:

There have been only three meetings of the society held during the past year; none of them have been characterized by harmony and kind feelings, but we are happy to say that a better day (to human appearance) is dawning upon us. The dead weights that have for the last eighteen months been hanging as an incubus upon us, and impeding our progress in the glorious cause of emancipation, are fast dropping off. We mean the disorganizers; and with regard to some of them, we feel constrained to say from the spirit they have manifested, that 'they went out from us because they were not of us.'

There have been held during the past year, nine meetings of the Board of Managers; at none of said meetings (owing to the disorganizing feeling of some of its members) has there been employed, in agreement with the requirements of the Constitution of this society—'the most energetic measures' to advance the cause of emancipation.

We have been during most of the past year without an officiating Treasurer, consequently the amount raised for the cause is unknown. It is supposed however, from what information we have been able to collect, that the sum raised by individual members without any concert of action on the part of the society, has been from two to three hundred dollars.

The weekly contribution plan is now in successful progress, upon which is pledged from one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars for the present year to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

When we take a retrospective view of the past, and then return to the present aspect of the Anti-Slavery cause in this Commonwealth and throughout the country, we are led to exclaim in the language of scripture, 'an enemy hath done this,' or in other words 'it is impossible but that offences will come, but wo unto him through whom they come.'

We would affectionately exhort those who have erred in leaving the broad platform upon which they first based themselves, to carefully, and prayerfully examine the subject of difference between us, and 'return to their first love.'—We would say to them that the Anti-Slavery Platform as at first organized in the American Anti-Slavery Society, is sufficiently broad to hold every *Abolitionist* on the face of the whole earth. We would say to those who have left us, that nothing shall prevent us at any time from extending to them the right hand of Anti-Slavery fellowship, whenever they shall recognize (in their profession and practice) the fundamental principles embraced in the organization of the American Anti-Slavery Society. In conclusion, we would say to all, 'come [go] thou with us, and we will do thee good: for the Lord hath spoken good concerning [this moral] Israel.'

Voted, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Fall River Monitor, Fall River Patriot, Boston Liberator, and such other papers as are friendly to our cause.

RICHARD C. FRENCH,
Rec. Secretary.

We cut the following advertisement from the "American Citizen," Maine.

"Wanted at this office, facts in relation to the condition of the operatives in the factory and other corporations in New England,—also respecting the condition of the slaves of the British East India Company, and of Great Britain, Ireland, and their manufacturing dens—for the purpose of publishing an improved edition of '*Slavery as it* REALLY *is.*' Let no one fear to disclose the *facts* within his *knowledge*, however alarming or exciting. ☞ *Be* particular to ascertain the *extreme cases*.

Citizen Office, July 3, 1840."

A great evil in the British East Indies will not make a greater evil in the Southern States right or less cruel.

From the Philanthropist.

CORTSVILLE, 6th mo. 7th, 1840.

DR. BAILEY:

ESTEEMED FRIEND—The Green Plain Abolition Society held its quarterly meeting yesterday. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted, of which I was directed to forward thee a copy for publication in the Philanthropist.

Having had the proceedings of the recent anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society read in this meeting, whereby we find that 451 professed Abolitionists voted for depriving a woman of the privilege of enjoying equal rights with themselves in said society because she *was* a woman—therefore,

1st. Resolved, That under a renewed sense of the necessity of entering into deep sympathy with those in bonds (mental and physical) as bound with them, we believe it imperative upon us to endeavor to procure the breaking of every yoke and letting the oppressed go free, irrespective of name, nation, sect, sex, or color.

2d. Resolved, That our thus mingling together irrespective of name or sex, in the promotion of this glorious cause, is producing a mort salutary effect in breaking down the partition walls of sectarianism, and uprooting prejudice and bigotry.

3d. Resolved, That it is cause of encouragement to us, that in the vote appointing Abby Kelly on the business committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, 557 of its members (constituting a majority of 106,) recognize mind *as mind*, regardless of the temple it dwells in; and instead of clogging the chariot wheels of universal emancipation, it will be the means, we believe, of propelling them foward—therefore,

Resolved, That the American Anti-Slavery Society, in comprehending women in its delegation to the World's Convention in London, has recognized the fundamental doctrine of human rights; and said society continues to possess our confidence.

4th. Resolved, That we much desire the encouragement of the sisters every where, to come forward in this righteous work, believing that God is no respecter of persons, and that male and female are all one in Christ; therefore, equally qualified and equally bound for the promotion of his kingdom.

5th. Resolved, That although we cannot harmonize in sentiment with our brethren of the new organization, yet we feel to desire that they may continue to labor in the way consistent with their own sense of right, until liberty shall be proclaimed throughout the land unto ALL the inhabitants thereof.

THOMAS BORTON, *Clerk.*

From the Poughkeepsie Journal.

The second anniversary of the Dutchess County Anti-Slavery Society.

The Dutchess County Anti-Slavery Society, pursuant to a call of its Executive Committee, held its second anniversary on the 26th day of last May, 1840, at the house of J. L. Dusinbury, in the village of Poughkeepsie.

Meeting organized at 8 o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the President, John L. Dusinbury of Poughkeepsie, was called to the chair, and Thomas Austin of the same place, took his place as Secretary.

Prayer by the Rev. Frederick Tuckerman.

It was, on motion, resolved, That a Committee of three be appointed by the chair, to nominate officers for the ensuing year—George L. LeRow, Thomas Austin, and Samuel Thompson were appointed said Committee.

It was unanimously resolved, That the clause in the Constitution of the Society, which makes seven of its members a board of Managers, be so amended as to allow the number of said Board to be eleven.

Constitution of the Society was read by the Secretary in compliance with the wish of the meeting.

The Committee on Nominations made the following report, which was unanimously accepted, and adopted as a whole.

For President,	Rev. Philetus Roberts	of	P. Valley
" Vice Presidents,	David L. Starr	"	Poughkeepsie
" "	Rev. Mr. Barber	"	Amenia
" "	Solomon Sleight	"	La George
" "	Charles Lacy	"	Hyde Park
" "	Edward Dorland	"	Washington
" "	Peter F. Dubois	"	P. Valley
" "	Thomas Hammond		Dover
" "	Rev. Wm. N. Sayer		Pine Plains
For Cor. Sec.	Wm. Mc. George	of	Poughkeepsie
Rec. Sec.	Thomas Austin	"	"
Treasurer	Ira Armstrong	"	"

The Board of Managers, Rev. Frederic Tuckerman, Samuel Thompson, George L. LeRow, John M. Dusinbury, Wm. Jenney, John Low, J. N. Mars, Marvin R. Armstrong, Wm. M. West Henry Fairchild, and James Van Wagner, all of Poughkeepsie.

At this stage of the proceedings, David L. Starr came in, and took the chair, as the first Vice President of the Society.

The following Preambles and Resolutions were taken up, one by one, discussed and passed.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of this Society be empowered to supply officers made vacant by the non-acceptance or resignation of candidates, and elect Vice Presidents for the towns where none as yet are appointed.

Resolved, That we collectively and severally will use all the means in our power, by printing, writing, speaking, and subscribing money, to forward the Anti-Slavery cause in this county.

Resolved, That we collectively and severally will do all in our power to *assist* those of our brethren, coming through this county that *may have* thus far *escaped* the iron grasp of tyranny, by giving them meat, money, and clothes, to *enable* them to prosecute their journey to A LAND OF LIBERTY.

Whereas, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church now in session in the city of Baltimore have passed a resolution, by a vote of 74 to 46, the substance of which is; "That it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for any preacher to permit colored persons to give testimony against white persons, in any state where they are denied that privilege in trials at law," thereby rendering it possible for a white man, when known to colored brethren only, to commit every abomination with impunity; therefore

Resolved, That as members of a Christian community and citizens of a nation that has openly declared to the wide world "that all men are created equal" we are filled with shame and sorrow at beholding the inroads which slavery, "the sum of all villainies," is making in the Church that professes to be the heritage of God.

Resolved, That we cannot recognize or sustain any one as a true minister of of the Gospel who is a slaveholder or a defender of slavery or who refuses to testify against it.

Whereas, the American Church has given its undisguised sanction and support to the system American Slavery in the following, among other ways, viz;

1. By a profound silence on the sin of slaveholding.
2. By tolerating slave breeding, slave trading, and slaveholding in its ministers and members.
3. By receiving the avails of the traffic in "Slaves and the souls of men" into the treasuries of its benevolent institutions, and
4. By its indifference and opposition to the Anti-Slavery enterprise, therefore,

Resolved, That the church ought not to be regarded and treated as the church of Christ, but as the foe of freedom, humanity, and pure religion, so long as it occupies its present position.

Resolved, That the monthly concert of prayer, for the enslaved, in our land, be recommenced and continued on the last Monday evening of each month.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Jonathan P. Clark for his offer of the hall in Clinton Street, free of expense, wherein to hold said prayer meetings.

Resolved, that contributions in the shape of pledges be now received to carry on the operations of the Society.

Resolved, That signatures be now received to the constitution.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Telegraph and journal of this Village.

Adjourned subject to the call of the Executive Committee.

THOMAS AUSTIN, Secretary
of the Dutchess County Anti-Slavery Society.
June 1st, 1840.

Van Buren and Slavery.

If additional evidence was wanted of the complete and total subserviency of Mr. Van Buren to slavery, it might be found in the columns of any of the leading papers in his favor. But no one wishes testimony on this point. His friends assert his opposition to abolitionists as one of his strongest recommendations. We copy the following paragraphs, however, for the purpose of informing our readers of the exact position in which he stands before the southern community. The first appeared in the Charleston Patriot on the 11th of June:

"It is surprising there should be any hesitation between Van Buren and Harrison. The former has purchased peace to the Union, and exemption from agitation, at least for a considerable period, by casting the moral weight of the government into the scale of southern rights. He has wrought a re-action of public opinion in that section of the country where the danger was most imminent. He has rolled back the billows of abolition. Who now sees an abolition pamphlet or picture? Who hears abolition harangues? Where is the slaveholder that does not feel his property more secure? It shows the moral power of the government for good or evil. The south owes an eternal debt of gratitude, &c. &c."

The next day the editor resumes the subject, and in the course of his remarks declares, that

"At the moment when Mr. Van Buren ascended the chair of state, we were on the eve of an encounter, which would, perhaps shake the Union to fragments. The question was to be promptly decided, between the abolitionists and the rights of the South. Any hesitancy, any concessions, would have precipitated a fearful crisis, and snapped the cords of our Union. In so critical an epoch, a statesman, not of the South, not having interests at the South,—not educated at the South, not bound up by habit, association or domestic ties with the institutions of the South—a northern man, whose political sympathies were all in a different direction, casts behind him all the chances of popularity," &c. "Can the South ever become forgetful of this crisis, calling, as it did, for the highest moral bravery in a statesman, and finding it in Martin Van Buren?"

We ask democratic abolitionists how this suits their fancy? In former times the song your party chanted was "Jefferson and Liberty;" now the song is "Van Buren and Slavery." Can you join in the chorus?

The Whig Policy.

If the pledge of Webster, the declarations and acts of Harrison, and the course of the Whig journals, is not sufficient to satisfy the most sceptical abolitionist that the Whig policy is practically a pro-slavery policy, we ask the doubter to read the following from a speech of Henry Clay, delivered on the 27th of last month, at a public dinner in Taylorsville, Hanover county, Virginia. In enumerating the subjects connected with the Government and its administration, "which require prompt and careful consideration," and are "worthy of commanding the grave attention of the public and its new servants," [that are to be when the Whigs get in,] he says: "That the right to slave property, being guarantied by the Constitution, and recognized as one of the compromises incorporated in that instrument by our ancestors, should be left where the Constitution has placed it, *undisturbed and unagitated by Congress*," and though not assuming to "commit any body else," yet he adds his belief that "most, if not all," the views he presents, are "entertained by" his "political friends." He then continues, "Whether the salutary reforms which they include will be effected or considered *depends upon the issue of that great struggle which is now going on* throughout all this country.—*Pa. Freeman.*

To the Editors of the National A. S. Standard.

ESTEEMED FRIENDS: In your paper of the 16th instant, [No. 6.] I observe an epistle addressed by me, some two months since, to an "Association of Friends," in Philadelphia, "for advocating the cause of the slave," &c. As published in your columns, without remark or explanation, it has the appearance of an original communication, addressed to that association through the National Anti-Slavery Standard, whereas the article was sent to the association in manuscript, at the period of its date, and, after being read, was, I understand, first printed by the association, in pamphlet form.

THOMAS M'CLINTOCK.

Waterloo, N. Y. 7th mo. 23d, 1840.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

EAST HAMPTON, Aug. 1840.

MR. EDITOR:—The following resolutions were passed by the East Hampton A. S. Society. This society is auxiliary to the Connecticut A. S. Society, whose official organ is *The Charter Oak.* The Charter Oak is under the control of those in Hartford who recently moved to change the Constitution so as to deprive a part of the members of the society of the rights of membership. Aided and spurred on by major domo Ludlow and other major domos: they were determined that *sex* should henceforth be regarded as a test of membership. The East Hampton Society, with many others, disapproved their doings and wished to bear a testimony against them, but the Charter Oak, their official organ, refuses to publish their dissent. I send the resolutions to the Standard. If consistent, I hope you will publish them.

"Resolved, That the course pursued by the Connecticut A S. Society at its late annual meeting, at New Haven, in denying the right of a part of its members to vote and act at its meeting, agreeably to Art. 4th, of the Constitution, and withdrawing its auxiliaryship to the American A. S Society at this time, when it will be construed into a virtual condemnation of that society, meets our most unqualified disapprobation.

Resolved, That the Anti-Slavery platform is broad enough for all persons, of every *sect*, *color*, *party*, *and sex*, and we are utterly opposed to its being so narrowed down as to exclude any human being who is a sound Abolitionist.

Resolved, That in view of the present state of the Anti-Slavery cause, while it has to encounter *pro-slavery* without and *sectarianism* within, abolitionists should feel themselves called upon to double their diligence, and see that the old Abolition ship, freighted with such rich blessings to the enslaved of every color and clime, is conducted through the storm in safety."

Those who choose to stand on the old platform of abolition in this State, cannot be heard in their official organ.—The Charter Oak has become a *one-sided* paper. It has much misrepresentation, and admits no correction. It will not make known the real state of the cause in this State. It will not publish the doings of auxiliary societies unless such auxiliaries speak to please the new organized Executive Committee of the State Society and Charter Oak.—That paper has become an enemy to liberty of speech: it gags the mouth and padlocks the lips of God's free children. It has declared war against the essential and inalienable rights of half mankind; and will not let the other half speak, unless they speak as the Charter Oak allows. Will the Abolitionists of Connecticut longer sustain such a one-sided paper?

Why is this course pursued by the Oak and Executive Committee? To please the pro-slavery church and ministry. To please politicians it will not assert that those are traitors to the cause who vote for pro-slavery candidates for civil office, and to please the clergy it will not assert that those are traitors to God and the slave who sustain a pro-slavery church and ministry. No Abolitionist can, without treachery to his principle, support a paper which thus lowers the standard of eternal right and truth to court the favor of priests or politicians.

Hartford Co. Meeting in Wethersfield, July 29.

The following resolution was introduced:

Resolved, That Martin Van Buren and William Henry Harrison, having given the most overwhelming proofs of their subserviency to the slave power, are utterly unworthy the suffrages of freemen; and that no Abolitionist can give either of them his support without violating his principles.

E. Tyler, Editor of the Connecticut Observer, a leading new organizer and a third political party man, moved its indeffinite postponement. To cut off all debate, A. M. Collins, another leading new organizer, and who sustains Bushnell, a bitter pro-slavery minister, and who receives as Deacon the bread and wine at the hands of slaveholders at times, moved to lay it on the table. A. F. Williams and Mr. Canfield, new organizers, sustained it. They succeeded in laying it on the table. These are the very men who, at the recent anniversary in New Haven, took the lead in cutting off one half of the State from the rights of membership, because God made them *women*.

Why do they do these things? To gain the favor of ministers and politicians. They will not urge Abolitionists to apply their principles to the pulpit and ballot-box—*a newly married couple*—for fear of offending the clergy or politicians. Thus the new organizers of this State are ready to turn traitors to our principles, and let the standard down to make abolition acceptable to pro-slavery ministers and politicians. Will these ministers and politicians come in? We shall see. Thus far they chuckle over the treachery and gullibility of new organization.

JOHN S. HALL.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Negroes in the woods!

Our community has been considerably excited of late, on account of the appearance of a number of negroes in and about the vicinity of 'Great Swamp,' in Amesbury, and about a mile from the village.

They were first discovered about two weeks since—and although they have been intercepted several times, and various attempts made to induce them to converse, and disclose their situation, objects and destination, yet nothing satisfactory could be elicited from them. The number of these blacks is variously estimated from three or four to a much larger number; and the impression that they are *runaway slaves*, seems to be generally entertained by those who have fallen in with them. They keep in the swamp during the day and in the night sally out for the purpose of obtaining food—a great part of which has undoubtedly consisted of *milk*, as the farmers in their vicinity complain much of the small quantity of that article furnished by their cows.

Occasionally, the negroes have ventured to visit the neighboring farm houses in the day time, and ask for, or steal, food and drink. They manifest, however, great caution and suspicion in their movements—and on the slightest alarm, they flee to the woods at once.

Since we commenced this article, we have learned that one of the blacks was apprehended on Wednesday, at South Hampton, N. H. after a long and severe chase of several miles, and carried to the village in that place. He appears to be a young man—of a jet black color—and although he refused to give any information in regard to himself, except that his father was among the company—and that they wished to go *East*—there can be no doubt but that they are all runaway slaves from the South. But when, or in what manner, they have thus managed to escape from slavery, and wend their way so far north, remains yet to be discovered.

The person caught, wore a dress such as is usual among the slaves at the South, and appears to be well acquainted with agricultural work.

That they were slaves there is but little doubt—such is the general impression here—and such we learn is the opinion of several gentlemen, Abolitionists, who have conversed with the black now in question.

As further developements will probably be made, we shall take an early opportunity to spread them before our readers.—*Amesbury Transcript.*

From New Grenada.—We learn from Capt. Chapman, of the brig Morea, from Carthagena, that another revolution had broken out in that Republic, headed by Moguera and Espana, the former leaders, whose object was to join the Province of Pasto to the Republic of the Equador. It was rumored that General Flores (the President) had ordered troops to the frontiers of the Equador, to take advantage of the same, and will perhaps add that Province to his Republic. The Secretary of the Interior of New Grenada had addressed a commnication to the Minister of the Equador, remonstrating against these proceedings, and demanding satisfaction. Gen. Obando was in prison, under trial for the supposed implication in the murder of General Lucre. Strong evidence had been given against him.

A Rich Man.—M. de Tiskiewies died a short time since in Russian Lithuania, leaving three sons and one daughter. His property comprised 46 extensive domains, on which there are 20,000 families of peasantry, reckoning in them 60,000 males. These were his serfs. In money he possessed 56,000,000 of Polish florins, equal to 21,620,000 French francs.—*Boston Recorder.*

Apparition.—A tremendous apparition was seen by a family in Derby, England, which aroused the whole neighborhood, and turned out to be a half famished cat.

Edward Evans, convicted for the murder of John C. Ritter, at Sandusky, has been sentenced to be executed on the 30th September.

Iowa Territory.—The (Burlington) 'Iowa Territorial Gazette,' thinks that the new census will show a population in that territory of *fifty thousand*. The following are its data:

Lee county has a population of 6000 and upwards; Des Moines about 6000; Van Buren 6000 to 7000; Henry 4500; Jefferson over 3000; Louisa 2000; Muscatine 2000; Washington 1600; Johnson say, 1500; Cedar estimated at 1800, &c. &c. The increase in the Western and Northern counties has been very great, within two years. In 1838, Washington county contained but 23 inhabitants; Johnson, 237; Cedar 557.

Prince Puckler Muskau.—Prince Puckler Muskau has sold his principality with all its rights to the Grand Duke of Saxe Coburg for $1,500,000. This territory, the capital of which is Muskau, is nine German potentates.

Prince Albert is said to exhibit quite a genius for the fine arts. He writes poetry, understands music, and, it is said, is employed during his leisure hours, in painting a historical picture. It is thought that, if the picture should possess merit, he may be elected to fill one of the vacancies in the

POETRY.

Memory.

A pen, to register; a key
That winds through secret wards;
Are well assigned to Memory,
By allegoric bards.

As aptly, also, might be given
A pencil to her hand;
That, softening objects, sometimes even
Outstrips the heart's demand;

That smooths foregone distress, the lines
Of lingering care subdues,
Long-vanished happiness refines,
And clothes in brighter hues:

Yet, like a tool of fancy, works
Those spectres to dilate,
That startle conscience, as she lurks
Within her lonely seat.

O! that our lives, which flee so fast,
In purity were such,
That not an image of the past
Should fear that pencil's touch!

Retirement then might lonely look
Upon a soothing scene,
Age steal to his allotted work,
Contented and serene;

With heart as calm as lakes that sleep
In frosty moonlight, glistening;
Or mountain rivers, where they creep
Along a channel smooth and deep,
To their own far-off murmurs listening.

The Two Voices.

BY MISS MARY E. HOWITT.

How many ages hence
Shall this our lofty scene be acted over
In states unborn, and accents yet unknown?
So oft as that shall be,
So often shall the knot of us be call'd
The men that gave our country liberty."
JULIUS CÆSAR.

A voice went forth throughout the land,
And an answering voice replied
From the rock-piled mountain fastnesses
To the surging ocean tide.

And far the blazing headlands gleam'd
With their land awakening fires;
And the hill-tops kindled, peak and height,
With a hundred answering pires.

The quick youth snatched his father's sword,
And the yeoman rose in might;
And the aged grandsire nerved him there
For the stormy field of fight;

And the hillmen left their grass-grown steeps,
And their flocks and herds unkept;
And the ploughshare of the husbandman
In the half-turned furrow slept.

They wore no steel-wrought panoply,
Nor shield nor morion gleamed;
Nor the flaunt of bannered blazonry
In the morning sunlight streamed.

They bore no marshalled, firm array—
Like a torrent on they pour'd,
With the firelock and the mower's scythe,
And the old forefathers' sword.

And again a voice went sounding on,
And the bonfires streamed on high;
And the hill-tops rang to the headlands back,
With the shout of victory!

So the land redeemed her heritage,
By the free hand mailed in right,
From the war-shod hireling foeman's tread,
And the ruthless grasp of might.

The Bible.

BY WILLIAM LEGGETT.

This little book I'd rather own
Than all the gold and gems
That ever in monarchs' coffers shone;
Than all their diadems.
Nay, were the sea one crysolite,
The earth a golden ball,
And diamonds all the stars of night,
This book were worth them all.

How baleful to Ambition's eye
His blood-wrung spoils must gleam,
When death's uplifted hand is nigh,
His life a vanished dream,
Then hear him with his gasping breath,
For one poor moment crave;
Fool, wouldst thou stay the arm of death,
Ask of the gold to save!

No, no, the soul ne'er found relief
In glittering hoards of wealth;
Gems dazzle not the eye of grief,
Gold cannot purchase health,
But here a blessed balm appears
To heal the deepest wo,
And he that seeks this book in tears,
His tears will cease to flow.

Here he who died on Calvary's tree,
Hath made that promise blessed,
Ye heavy laden come to me,
And I will give you rest:
A bruised reed I will not break,
A contrite heart despise,
My burdens light, and all who take
My yoke shall win the skies.

Yes, yes, this little book is worth
All else to mortals given,
For what are all the joys of earth
Compared to joys of heaven.
This is the guide our fathers gave,
To lead to realms of day,
Star whose lustre gilds the grave,
The light, the life, the way.

Every one has at least one talent.

What if the little rain should say,
So small a drop as I
Can ne'er refresh those thirsty fields—
I'll tarry in the sky.

What if a shining beam at noon,
Should in its fountain stay,
Because its feeble light alone
Cannot create a day!

Does not each rain drop help to form
The cool refreshing shower,
And every ray of light to warm
And beautify the flower!

'Tis a little thing,
To give a cup of water; yet its draught
Of cool refreshment, drained by fevered lips,
May give a shock of pleasure to the frame,
More exquisite than when nectarian juice
Renews the life of joy in happiest hours.
It is a little thing to speak a phrase
Of common comfort, which by daily use
Has almost lost its sense; yet on the ear
Of him who thought to die unmourned, 'twill fall
Like choicest music.

The Woman Question in England.

It will be seen by the following article, which we copy from the Leicestershire Mercury, that there is one editor at least in England who takes a correct view of this question.

It is highly gratifying that in such an assembly as the Anti-Slavery Convention, the right of women to take an active part in the administration of public affairs was brought into discussion, and that that discussion was full, animated and yet temperate, which is not usually the case when a prejudice or a custom is first assailed. We think that the convention committed a capital error in refusing this liberty, but on this head, there will of course, until the matter be more fully discussed, be differences of opinion. There seemed a strong and decided feeling that the bare fact of these ladies having travelled 4000 miles to attend that meeting at the request of societies of ardent abolitionists, was sufficient to constitute a special case, and to entitle them to certificates to admit them as delegates.

It is painful to consider that it was not until nearly 2000 years after the Christian era that this momentous question of the equal rights of human beings, and of that portion of them in particular to whom the business of education is by God and nature more especially intrusted, should have been publicly agitated. The sentiment has been welcomed in Christian nations, as a sentiment, and the treatment of woman has been greatly superior amongst those who have enjoyed the light of revelation. It is now for the first time made the subject of public discussion for *practical* recognition, and a fitting place, time, and occasion for the purpose was selected. For the first time nations had met by their delegates to represent the universe of man, to recognise the principles of universal peace, and to enter into a solemn and holy compact for abolishing slavery, the worst possible form of human suffering. The principle of unrestricted, universal, all-comprehensive benevolence, had brought them together, to strengthen each other in the support and diffusion of human rights; and it is a glorious fact that at a first meeting of such an assembly the first prejudice attacked—the first shackle attempted to be loosened—was a tyrant prejudice which has subdued and suppressed the best activity of which our nature is capable; namely, the fullest practical exercise of the affections, by those who are more peculiarly the subjects of the kindliest, and to whom nature has committed the earliest and therefore the most abiding and influential impressions of God's creatures.

The division on the question showed at least one-fourth of the room in favor of equal rights in both sexes to work and be publicly active in this holy cause. To the women of America the cause owes its existence in that country, though there slave owners possessed the power of the state, and the means of persecuting and embittering the existence and endangering the lives of their opponents. Those who would know to what the moral and physical courage of women is equal, should read the 'Martyr-Age in America,' in the London and Westminister Review. Its perusal will teach the so-called 'Lords of the creation,' the loss the world has sustained by this suppressive custom; and we trust all Christian men and women will, upon fitting occasions, within the sphere of their moral influence, bring this question into discussion, for it is only by persevering discussion on such occasions that great and important general truths are ultimately adopted—that the sentiment which is first assented to is converted into a principle and then raised into a rule of action.

Clarkson, in his portraiture of Quakerism, in noticing the beneficial influence of chivalry in causing a more polite attention to be paid to women than had been the case in the barbarous ages, and of the moral influence of Christianity in raising the estimation in which they were held, goes on to say—'But it seems to have been reserved for the Quakers, as a religious body, to insist upon that full, practical treatment and estimation of women, which ought to take place wherever Christianity is professed. They have accordingly given to the females of their society their proper weight in the scale of created beings. Believing them to have adequate capacities, and to be capable of great usefulness, they have admitted them to a share in the administration of almost all the offices which belong to their religious discipline; so that, independent of their private, they have a public character, like the men.'

After enumerating many of the offices held equally by both sexes, he thus continues:—'The men were said to preach as in other socities—the women were permitted to preach also. In short, if men consider themselves to be qualified for any office belonging to their religious discipline, they believe their women to be equally capable of holding the same. No distinction is made as to the powers of usefulness between the men and women of this society.'

He then points out the beneficial effects of their public duties upon the character of the female Friends and concludes as follows:—'Their pursuits are rational, useful and dignified; and they may be said in general to exhibit a model for the employ of time, worthy the character they profess.'

Such would be the effect upon the sex in general if they were permitted to take part in the active and public duties of life. Whilst, however, this is not the case, it is matter for rejoicing that this question has, at length, been publicly mooted, that is has been discussed in an assembly brought together for objects so momentous and generous, the end and purpose of which is to realize to the universe the best affections of humanity. To that end the more zealous exertions of the female sex are essential, and their beneficial actions, in weaning men from the false glory of war, and the destruction of human beings, and of fixing *their* attention on the things that lead to peace and goodness, cannot be too highly estimated or too earnestly sought.

Extract from a Discourse on Liberty, Delivered at Providence R. I. July 4th, 1840. By Thomas P. Rodman.

Let me say a word of the spirit in which we should do what we have to do. To keep the good, that we enjoy—to obtain the good that we desire,—to banish the evil that we suffer—to prevent the evil that we fear—these are the aims of human endeavor. The good is not one, and the evil is named legion. No talisman can secure the good we possess, or call to us the good we seek. There is no panacea for evil. No master stroke can disarm a foe of the spirit. Devotion to one aim of life cannot ensure peace and security. Guardianship and culture of what we have gained—labor in the search and strife for what we would gain—perseverance against the present evil, and watchfulness against the evil to come—all these are demanded of him who means to live well. Life is continual labor and open warfare. Ramparts and ditches avail not, for a siege, shuts us up from the field of life-sustaining toil. What is the plough or the ship to the besieged? Man cannot obviate the necessity of any one of these works, that I have named.—Such is human life. We may not say at any time, this work is finished, I have now time for the rest—all must be done continually. Never may we say, this work must be done now, by and by the others, all must go on together. The lessons of nature confirm this. True, it is summer with us now, and the spring is gone away, but it is spring somewhere else, and it is always spring and summer, and autumn and winter, but we staying in one place, see but one at a time. Now man is not one place but a world. In one region of this world more wonderful than the world of nature, it shall be spring, in another summer, in another autumn, and another winter. But no where can it be said the last blossoms are blushing—the last fruits are maturing—the last crop has been harvested—the snows shall abide forever. Yet there are always blossoms; summer fruits, ingatherings and snows. The spirit of the universe produces perpetually the effects which to outward sense seem transient. So let the man be to himself. He is a universe, and lord of a universe. He can rest from nothing. In these parables read we lessons of moral reform, as in the parables of olden time we read doctrines of life. There cannot be an invention to destroy evil forever, any more than there can be one to prevent the weeds from growing up in the field where they were uprooted some time ago. You may cultivate the plants as much as you will, if you do not go on with your weeding, you shall have but sorry harvesting. So if you rely upon what you have done against evil, you will find your work soon to be done over again. A plot of ground is covered with rank weeds.—You go resolutely to work and root up every one. You sow good seed, and expect a good crop. You shall have it, if you do what you ought. You must visit it daily, and remove the weeds as they appear one by one. If you say the weeds were entirely eradicated, and, of course, cannot spring again, what will your theory avail against the lively, growing, spreading fact of nature. So you see a region where vice prevails. You do what you can to effect reformation. You establish regulations to prevent excess. You provide for the punishment of the transgressors. You have done good. But what if you stop here.—What if, having thus regulated society, you leave the individual? How long will your perfect republic last? You may sit down in much complacency if you will, and read over your statutes, and the record of the past working of your plans, and boast of the wisdom and the goodness which formed them and wrought them out. But what are the glories of history to him who sees the commemorated region a waste, covered with ruins, and peopled with the wretched. The same power that set the planets in motion, keeps them moving. The creator of being is the preserver of life. The facts of nature show a power continually working; not an impulse given long ago, and now continuing, independent of the power that gave it. Every thing speaks of a mind and will ever active. To sit down and form plans of preventing labor is unworthy of a man. To think how more may be done by the means we have, or how means may be multiplied, is manly. I think the inventor of a machine which should work while men sleep, would deserve no thanks. But he who should make one that would render man's waking hours more productive, would deserve many thanks. The best results of labor have not been seen yet. Comfort is not so common as it should be. To remove the possibility of evil is not desirable. The destruction of evil is inconsistent with human freedom. But man should hold all evil under his feet. He does not now, but he should aim to do it. He should aim to be Godlike. God holds evil in subjection. He is not affected by it. So shall man be when he is like God. So far as man is Godlike, so far evil is powerless upon him. Were man not liable to evil he would not be free. But liability to pain is not suffering. Exposure to evil is no harm. Conflict is not defeat. It may eventuate in victory. But after victory, power must keep the vantage. So the victor shall not rest, but his joy shall be the consciousness of increased power and dominion. He shall build no rampart, but his voice of thunder shall ring in the ears of the foe, thus far and no farther—and it shall be obeyed. There is not an ill that flesh is heir to which shall ever be destroyed. There is not one spiritual foe that shall ever die. Vanquished he may be, but not mortally wounded. Though he turn from you, he will attack me. If I conquer like you, he will turn from me, and he will fight till all have in turn subdued him. Then shall he stand in defiance of all, and he who falters shall renew the battle. But the strong in power shall keep him at distance while their will is unwavering. Now what is true of the individual is true of society. It must stand against evil continually. The protective law for the reformer—the law of prohibition against the wrong doers are straws. They who continually labor in love, alone shall do good, and get and give blessing. Such is the course of reflections through which I came to the conclusions which I am now about to utter. I believe that any measures adopted in forgetfulness of the perpetuity of evil, and of the necessity for continual labor against the efforts of the foes of humanity must fail. Circumscribed as the sphere of man seems to be, all his plans must nevertheless be laid on the foundations of the infinite. Temporary as seem his relations while he abides in this visible world, he must work in obedience to eternal law. But men have not believed thus. They have dreamed of destroying evil. They have thought to do it speedily. They have felt as if when a law has been enacted, by a human senate, a Pantheon had spoken in thunder, and a universe, trembling to its centre, had murmured the obedient vow. The enactment of a law has been a signal for the reformers to cease their efforts to amend the guilty, and thenceforth to devote themselves to detection and punishment. The patience of benevolence has given place to the unrelenting spirit of vindictiveness, so insidious that he who has given it place in his bosom knows not when it came to dwell with him, so guileful that he mistakes it for patriotism and philanthropy.

No. III.

The following Protest speaks for itself:

AQUOHEE CAMP, Aug. 1, 1838.

Whereas, The title of the Cherokee People to their lands is the most ancient, pure, and absolute, known to man; its date is beyond the reach of human record; its validity confirmed and illustrated by possession and enjoyment, antecedent to all pretence of claim by any other portion of the human race:

And whereas, The free consent of the Cherokee People is indispensable to a valid transfer of the Cherokee title; and whereas the Cherokee People have neither by themselves nor their representatives given such consent, it follows that the original title and ownership of the lands, still vest in the Cherokee Nation, unimpaired and absolute:

Resolved therefore, By the National Committee and Council, and People of the Cherokee Nation, in General Council assembled, that the whole Cherokee Territory, as described in the first article of the treaty of 1819 between the United States and the Cherokee Nation, still remains the rightful and undoubted property of the Cherokee Nation; and that all damages and losses, direct or indirect, resulting from the enforcement of the alleged stipulations of the pretended treaty of New Echota, are in justice and equity chargeable to the account of the United States.

And whereas, The Cherokee People have existed as a distinct national community, in the possession and exercise of the appropriate and essential attributes of sovereignty, for a period extending into antiquity beyond the dates and record and memory of man:

And whereas, These attributes, with the rights and franchises which they involve, have never been relinquished by the Cherokee People, but are now in full force and virtue:

And whereas, The natural, political, and moral relations subsisting between the citizens of the Cherokee Nation toward each other and toward the body politic, cannot in reason and justice be dissolved by the expulsion of the Nation from its own Territory by the power of the United States government.

Resolved, therefore, By the National Committee and Council and People of the Cherokee Nation, in General Council assembled, that the inherent sovereignty of the Cherokee Nation, together with the constitution, laws and usages of the same, is and by the authority aforesaid is hereby declared in full force and virtue, and shall continue so to be, in perpetuity, subject to such modifications as the general welfare may render expedient.

Resolved further, That the Cherokee People, in consenting to an investigation of their individual claims, and receiving payment upon them, and for their improvements, do not intend that it shall be construed as yielding or giving their sanction or approval, to the pretended treaty of 1835; nor as compromising, in any manner, their just claim against the United States hereafter, for a full and satisfactory indemnification for their country, and for all losses and injuries.

And be it further resolved, That the principal Chief be, and he is hereby authorized to select and appoint, such persons as he may deem necessary and suitable, for the purpose of collecting and registering individual claims against the United States, with the proofs, and to report to him their proceedings as they progress.

Signed by Richard Taylor, Pres't Nat. Council; and also by the Speaker of the Council and the Clerk and twelve members of the National Committee, on behalf of the People.

No. IV.

The Winnebagoes next claim our attention.—A treaty was made, it seems, by which they too, forfeit all their country. We do not know whether it was the work of the same clergyman who made the Treaty of New Echota, and the Treaty with the New-York Indians. Be this as it may, we learn that a large body of these Indians were not long since encamped on the St. Clair river; negociating with the Government of Upper Canada to receive them into that Province. It is also stated that a body of American troops were sent to remove them thence to the far west. And we now learn that they have been removed beyond the Mississippi by 1000 soldiers.

The Senate of the U. S. too, we are told, had a proposition before them to suspend the execution of that Treaty, on account of *alleged* frauds. The Chippewas, the Ottawas, the Potawatomies, and other tribes, are also said to have sold their several possessions. But we are weary, our very soul is weary of this treaty-making business; unless we could discover some trait of honesty—some oasis in the moral desert where we could for a moment repose.

We must, however, pass on to the Senecas.—Enough has already been laid before the public to satify any honest, intelligent mind of the true character of this infamous transaction, we shall therefore not dwell upon it, but proceed to show to what these things are tending.

A very general dissatisfaction with their treatment is spreading throughout all the Indian Tribes in the United States; they are looking to Canada as their last and only place of refuge on earth. And no doubt the British Government deem it sound policy to invite them there.

At a late Council held with the three hundred Seneca Indians who now reside in Upper Canada, we are told that the Governor of that Province enquired of those Indians if they were disposed to invite their brethren the New-York Indians, to join them in the event of their being expelled from this State. He said, if they had not land enough, *he had*, and would furnish them with whatever they could usefully occupy. Runners were accordingly sent to the New-York Indians; and it is understood that a general Council of those Indians will be held during the present summer. And should our government persist in carrying out the treaty, there is not a doubt as to the result. We may have, in this instance only, nearly five thousand enemies on our frontier, instead of retaining them as friends in the bosom of the state.

And it is more than probable that almost all the Indians in the U. S. will endeavor to follow their example. Our Rulers may exult in thus getting rid of this population, and of the *debts* they owe them. We may seek to cast odium on the British for harboring and employing Indians, but can these cloaks cover our injustice?

Perhaps there never was a nation, so powerful, and, at the same time, so vulnerable as the United States at this moment. The gathering clouds of Guilt and Vengeance are covering our horizon, and our repentance and amendment can only disperse them.

M.

Eve. Signal.

Intellectual Greatness of Oliver Cromwell.

Intellectual greatness is a solitary thing; and Oliver Cromwell was early taught to stand alone among the greatest of his time. His training had not been like the education of his cousin, confined mainly to his study, copying out cases, and writing notes on constitutional law, or among the abstractions and idealities of philosophy and poetry. Cromwell had, though studious by fits, fought at quarter-staff with pedlars, gambled, kissed girls, frightened ale-wives, and preached and prayed with the Puritan yeomanry of Ely, Huntingdon, and St. Ives; he therefore had a knowledge of mankind superior to the merely speculative and abstract sort, because his was concrete, real, individual; science become skill, and acquaintance with motives which told him how to work upon them. Cromwell saw all the men of his period before him a machinery, the springs and powers of which lay within his reach. He had been told by his own feeling how to touch all the noblest and strongest spiritual convictions of his fellow-men, and how by them to nerve their hearts to a heroism whose smallest triumph was to trample upon death; and, therefore, his intellect irresistibly attaching the imputation of unpracticality to the man who had applied it to what he could not understand, and viewing the foolish simplicity as a thing attaching not to his project, but to minds unfitted for it, and yet with the justice and charity which the greater can exercise to the less, though the less cannot return it, Cromwell said to wise and worthy Hampden, "I can do somewhat in it."

A practical understanding necessarily views every thing in relation to its position, and what can be done for it. A man of this sort cares very little for anything which, however desirable, is not feasible, especially when it may stand in the way of any object which is both to be desired and to be had. He is apt (not without woeful experience and reason) to have a contempt for men who allow themselves to be carried away by the glory of an ideal excellence from a clear and broad view of their position and means, and even when

"The light which leads astray is light from heaven."

and the syren who draws her votaries aside from the practical path, assumes the starry form of Liberty herself, she seems to him no better than a deceptive mermaid with a fishy tail, or a bewildered meteor of the fens. The sympathies of Oliver Cromwell were sufficiently large to embrace all the moral elements of his party. The conservatism of the parliamentary leaders, who clung to the limited monarchial constitution of their country—the conservatism of the Episcopal Puritans, who resisted any retrograde movement towards popery from the settlement of Elizabeth, the generous conceptions of a republican and representative government, which should raise all the people to the nobility of manhood, equality and freedom—the fervid and Christian fancies which panted for the great and golden reign of peace and meekness, righteousness and truth among men (sweet and glorious hopes of loving hearts, soon to be quenched in blood and tears!) and, above all, the master-idea of his time, destined in that day to spread from the hearts and brains of men into their institutions and laws, from the sparkling forges of thought into the iron forms of authority and government—the great truth of religious toleration; all these varieties of moral, political, and religious conviction and feeling, acted as impellants in the hearts of the men of his piebald and tasselated party, and Cromwell had sympathies with them all. This it was,—joined to his practicalness and his force of nature, which made him the man of his time—he was large enough for it all. The practical men who had this, were compelled to rise by a necessity of their nature: and among the men of this sort, he who was naturally strongest and most energetic must guide the rest. While this breadth of character and largeness of heart fitted him for the great career he ran, they also made it impossible for any one of the limited men of his time to understand him—as the less cannot comprehend the greater, and the part cannot grasp the whole, and thus the qualities which enabled him to lead, caused him to be misunderstood by the more conceited and unreverential of the Presbyterians, Republicans, and Sectaries. Again, all formulists are unpractical, in so far as their favorite formula is concerned, or practical only in subservience to it; they cannot raise themselves to a comprehensive survey of all formulas; they cannot wield as an instrument a creed which holds them like victims: they cannot, while the subjugated slaves of one magic spell—a ring, a gem, a lamp, or cup—be the lords of an enchantment which can act upon them all at will, and selects by turns the end to be gained, and the spirit to minister to it—a giant or a dwarf, a gnome or a fairy, a satyr of the woods or a nymph of the sea. There were then two sources of misapprehension with regard to Cromwell—the varieties of his sympathies, which made him too large to be grasped by smaller minds, and the practicalness of his mind, which made him despise the pursuit of ends which he desired, when, though they were desirable, they were not feasible. The formulist, proposing to himself constantly as the ideal of excellence in character, the martyr and confessor of his creed, is ill fitted for appreciating the practical man of an age, whose business is doing and not dying for his principles. When a number of strong convictions, but a limited range of intellect, see that a man who evidently understands, and professedly appreciates every one of their dogmas or principles of right, treats an exclusive devotion to any one of them with scarcely disguised contempt, a suspicion of unprincipledness inevitably rises in their minds; each of them thinks him a traitor to his theory of right, and their natures make it impossible for them to dream that he may be acting in obedience to a large and nobler view of duty than any of their own. Nor, without reverence on their parts, could Cromwell make these men understand him. He could not fold himself into their size. We have somewhere read a comparison of a mind at once minute and large, to a fairy parasol; fold it, and a girl can carry it in her hand; spread it, and it is a pavilion under which an army may repose. But no mind can contract or narrow itself; and a Cromwell could no more make himself a Scott, a Hazelrig, or a Vane—men who raved eloquently and philosophically about the representation of the people in a republic, while the people themselves were ready to rave with uptossed caps and blazing bonfires in favor of a despotic king—than these Republicans could expand themselves to the conception of his great and practical views.

The Bible.

We do not know where there is so good a description of the Bible, in so small a compass, as is to be found below, from the Hartford Courier:

"A nation must be truly blessed, if it were governed by no other laws than those of this blessed book: it is so complete a system that nothing can be added to or taken from it; it contains every thing needful to be known or done; it affords a copy for a king and a rule for a subject; it gives instruction and council to a senate, authority and direction to a magistrate: it cautions a witness, requires an impartial verdict of a jury and furnishes a judge with his sentence; it sets the husband as lord of the household, and the wife as mistress of the table; tells him how to rule and how to manage. It entails honor to parents and enjoins obedience upon children; it prescribes and limits the sway of sovereigns, the rule of the ruler and authority of the master; commands the subjects to honor and the servants to obey; and promises the protection of its rules. It gives directions for weddings and for burials; it promises food and raiment, and limits the use of both; it points out a faithful and eternal guardian to the departing husband and father; tells him with whom to leave his fatherless children and in whom his widow is to trust, and promises a father to the former and a husband to the latter. It teaches a man how he ought to set his house in order, and how to make his will: it appoints a dowry for the wife, and entails a right to the first born; and shows how the younger branches shall be left. It defends the right of all and reveals vengeance to the defrauder, over-reacher and oppressor. It is the first book and the oldest book in the world. It contains the choicest matter, gives the best instruction, and affords the greatest pleasure and satisfaction that ever were revealed. It contains the best laws and profoundest mysteries that ever were penned. It brings the best tidings, and affords the best of comforts to the inquiring and disconsolate. It exhibits life and immortality, and shows the way to everlasting glory. It is a brief recital of all that is to come. It settles all matters in debate, resolves all doubts, and eases the mind and conscience of all their scruples. It reveals the only living and true God and shows the way to him; and sets aside all other gods, and describes the vanity of them, and of all that put their trust in them.

New-Year's Eve of an Old Man.

An old man stood at his window on a New-Year's eve, and gazed with an eye of settled despair on the immoveable, eternally blooming, heaven above, and the silent, pure white earth beneath him, upon which at that moment, there was no being so joyless and so sleepless as himself. For his grave was nigh at hand; it was hid only by the snows of age, not by the verdue of youth; and he brought to it, out of his whole richly gifted life, nothing but errors, crimes, and disease; an enfeebled body, a desolate soul, a heart full of venom, and old age full of remorse. The lovely days of youth came back upon him like spirits, and led him away to the bright morning of his days, when his father first placed him at the turning point of human life, whence the right hand road leads by the broad sunlit path of virtue, to a wide and peaceful region of clear light, rich treasures, and heavenly inhabitants; while the left hand one plunges down through the hollows of vice into a dark death, distilling with deadly poison, full of hissing serpents, and the damp, sultry vapors of the tomb.

Alas! the serpents were even then clinging to his breast and the poison to his tongue, and he knew where he was.

In despair and unspeakable torture he cried out to heaven, "Give me my youth again! Father! place me again at the turning point, that I may make another and a better choice!"

But his father and his youth were both long gone by. He saw an ignis fatuus playing over marshes and expiring in the church-yard; and he said, "Behold the days of my folly!" He saw a star fall from heaven and melt into darkness upon the earth. "'Tis thyself," said his bleeding heart; and the serpent's teeth of remorse fastened more sharply on his wounded spirit.

While he struggled with these feelings, the song that announced the new-year floated down from the watch tower like distant church music. His emotions became softer; he looked round on the wide earth, and thought of the friends of his youth, who now, happier and better than he, were teachers of the world, parents of happy children, and blessed by Providence: and he said: "Alas! had I but willed it, I too might have slumbered through this night with tearless eye. Alas! beloved parents! I too might have been happy, had I but followed your new year's advice and new year's wishes."

While this feverish thought of his youthful days was upon him, it seemed to him as though a skeleton in the neighboring church-yard rose slowly, and put on his likeness, till his superstitious fancy saw it in a living youth, and his own once blooming youthful figure danced before his eyes in bitter mockery.

He could not bear to look upon it; he covered his eyes, a thousand warm tears fell in the snow, he could only sigh heavily, hopeless, and almost senseless; "Return my youth! do but return!"

And she returned, for his new-year's eve was but a fearful dream; he still was young. Only his errors were no dream; but he thanked God that he was allowed, while yet in his youth, to turn aside from the foul by-ways of vice to the sunny path which leads to the land of purity and happiness.

Youthful reader, if thou, like him, art upon the road of error, turn like him. This fearful dream will one day be thy judge; but when thou shalt exclaim in anguish, "Return, my youth!" it will not return.

"There is something in Richmond which offends me more than its bottomless mudholes, and shocks me more than the rudeness of the western Virginians, whom I met here during the session of the legislature; it is slavery. Half of the population is black or mulatto; physically, the negroes are well used in Virginia, partly from motives of humanity, and partly, because they are so much live stock raised for exportation to Louisiana; morally, they are treated as if they did not belong to the human race. Free or slave the black is here denied all that can give him the dignity of man. The law forbids the instruction of the slave or the free man of color in the simplest rudiments of learning, under the severest penalties: the slave has no family; he has no civil rights; he holds no property."

Michael Chevalier.

Means of Good Manners.

BY MISS SEDGWICK.

What are the circumstances so favorable to good manners, and of course to good character? I must promise, that by good manners, I do not mean the polished manners of the most highly educated and refined of other countries, nor the deferential subserviance of their debased classes; too pleasing to those who prefer the homage to the friendship of their fellow-creatures.

There is no country where such an equality of rights and condition exists, as in our Northern States. There is no other where the rewards of fortune are so certain to the industrious and ingenious, nor where the just poverty that follows idleness and imbecility is so sure. Of course we have no barriers that are either impassible or difficult to be passed from one condition to another.

The English are of the same race, "the Saxon as ourselves." They too are a free people.—Most of the insolence that disgraces the upper classes in England, and the servility, that degrades the inferior ones, may be ascribed to the fixedness of the barriers that separate them.

Whence, think you, come the manliness, frankness, and independence, and self-respect, of the manners of the mechanic and common farmer? They are intelligent men, and to a certain degree educated. They feel that they stand on even ground with the professional man, and a little above the rich idle gentleman. They know that their sons have an equal chance for the first station in the land. They feel no provocation to rudeness and no motive for servility. Equality of rights and fluctuations of conditions restrain the tempers and inspire mutual kindness and forbearance, for there are none above the manifestations of our good disposition, and none below it The mingling of all classes is favorable to good manners. We know it is not deemed so by those who still cling to the aristocracy of our fathers' days, and who would have one class polished, while the other rusts, one class marked by prescribed observances, of which their inferiors in condition are quite ignorant; but surely, good manners to the greatest number is preferable to the high-bred manners to the few.

This mingling of all conditions, gives those who are least educated an opportunity of associating with those whose refinement and delicacy of manner is the sign of the high cultivation and refinements of their minds.

The habit of travelling that prevails is increasing among our people, is favorable to good manners. In our steamboats and rail road cars the humblest and hitherto most sequestered individual, sits side by side, eats at the same table, and sleeps in the same apartment, with those highly educated and polished. Very dull must those be who cannot, if they will, profit by a good model.

Preaching.—I love a serious preacher, who speaks for my sake, and not for his own; who seeks my salvation, and not his own vain-glory. He best deserves to be heard who uses speech only to clothe his thoughts, and his thoughts only to promote truth and virtue. Nothing is more despicable than a professed declaimer, who retails his discources as a quack does his medicines.—*Massilon.*

Modern Philosophy.—The late Dr. Nisbet, celebrated for his profound erudition and ready wit, being asked how he would define *modern Philosophy*, replied;—"It consists in believing every thing but the truth, and that in exact proportion to the want of evidence: or, to use the words of a poet, in making windows that shut out the light, and passages that lead to nothing."

What is death to that mind which considers immortality as the career of existence? What are the frowns of fortune to him who claims an eternal world as his inheritance? What is the loss of friends to that heart, which feels that it shall quickly rejoin them in a more intimate and permanent intercourse than any of which the present life is susceptible? What are the changes and revolutions of earthly things to a mind which uniformly anticipates a state of unchangeable felicity.—

Dick on the Improvement of Society.

Spiritual Knighthood.—"We have been called to a knighthood of the living God, and we took the soldier's oath at the time of our baptism. No warrior goes with all his conveniences and out of his chamber to battle; but from the camp where he is inured to hardship and accustomed to all kinds of inconvenience. Even in peace, soldiers learn by labor and toilsomeness, to bear the hardships of war, being constantly under arms exercising themselves in the field, and throwing up trenches. So, ye blessed ones, regard everything that is hard to you as an exercise of your mental and bodily powers. Ye serve in a good camp, where the living God is your general, where the Holy Ghost directs the camp-exercises and an angel's life in heaven, eternal glory, is the victor's reward."